ON THE

HISTORY OF OXFORD

DURING THE

TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES,
(912—1100) :

THE MATERIAL OF A LECTURE DELIVERED BEFORE THE
OXFORD ARCHITECTURAL AND HISTORICAL
SOCIETY, FEB. 28, 1871,

BY

JAMES PARKER,
TREASURER OF THE SOCIETY.

PRESENTATION COPY.

OXFORD,
1871.

With the author's respects

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PREFATORY NOTE.

A T the beginning of last Term I undertook to guide the members of the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society over the line of the old City Wall, in the course of their "Saturday Walks and Excursions."

I foresaw many questions would be asked which involved a reference to the *early* history of the city, and I thought, therefore, that it would be better to treat all these together in an evening Lecture, distinct from those remarks which could with advantage be made upon the several details of the wall during our "Walks." The wall itself dates only from the reign of Henry III. at the earliest, and much of the masonry now existing belongs to still later times.

What, then, was the boundary of Oxford before this wall existed ? What was the extent of Oxford in King Alfred's reign ? When was Oxford founded ? These and similar questions I anticipated would suggest themselves, and were, as it turned out, put to me from time to time. To reply that the history of Oxford did not begin till after the time of Alfred, appeared naturally unsatisfactory without strong evidence, as it ran counter to all popular belief, and that evidence could not be given conveniently while addressing the members and their friends in the open air.

The object of the Evening Lecture, therefore, was to answer such questions by telling, firstly, *all* that we know of the early history of Oxford ; and, secondly, *how* we know it.

I fixed upon the close of the eleventh century as the date to which I extended my remarks, because it included the Domesday Survey, but did not touch upon the reign of Henry I. That reign saw the foundation of the Austin Canons at Oseney ; they were

eventually followed by the Dominicans, and shortly after that by the Franciscans, consequently a fresh era was commenced in the history of Oxford, an era which included the growth of the University.

Having been asked to print my Lecture, and thinking that it might be found useful to some of my friends who take an interest in antiquarian studies, I have written out in full the few rough notes (which were prepared for my Lecture), and have given the manuscript, together with copies of the necessary extracts, into the printer's hands. I believe it will be found that I have treated the subject in a different manner from that in which it has hitherto been treatcd; but whatever may be the worth of my remarks, I am satisfied the bringing together the series of records bearing on the subject, in chronological order, cannot be without service in arriving at a right decision upon the several questions at issue.

THE TURL,
June, 1871.

OXFORD.

W HILE nearly every guide-book and history of Oxford repeats the story of the foundation or restoration by Alfred of the University of Oxford, none of them, so far as I know, take the trouble to place fairly before their readers the authorities on which the story rests: and so it is with many other of the stories which obtain credence concerning the history of the place. Each successive writer seems content to follow his predecessor, or to quote the opinion of some antiquary held in repute for his knowledge; and so a long list of authors is often referred to as confirming a statement; while, amongst the whole, no *authority* whatever, in the strict sense of the word, is appealed to. Frequent repetitions of the circumstance appear to be held as equivalent to corroboration, the chronological sequence of the sources being absolutely ignored.

Hence we have what may be called a mythical history of Oxford; and it is a study by itself,—not an uninteresting one, or one without advantage to study, but it is quite distinct from the history of Oxford of which I propose to treat in this Lecture. It is, after all, not the real early history of Oxford, though it refers to early times; it is the early history of Oxford as pleasantly fancied, perhaps even generally believed, in the fifteenth century,—but not that early history as known and recorded by the eleventh and twelfth century historians.

I have said that this mythical history is worthy of study, for it involves a curious and interesting investigation in order to discover the germ of the myth. I have not myself been able to trace it, or

at least the chief portions of it, earlier than "John Bromton;" but then I am not sure whether the copy of the Hyde Abbey Chronicle may not be of as early, or earlier, date than our earliest transcript of "Bromton." Both may be of the close of Edward the Third's reign.

In Richard the Second's reign we find that the tradition of Alfred founding the University is brought to bear as evidence upon a question relating to William of Durham's College (University), attributing the same to King Alfred, and the legend even finds its way into the Rolls of Parliament. To these elementary stages, so to speak, of the myth might be well added an investigation of those extraordinary circumstances which led Camden, about the year 1600, to print the interpolated passage in his edition of Asser, and of the lame apologies which were attempted in justification of it.

The mythical history, however, of Oxford goes back to a period before King Alfred. The fable of the schools of "Greek-lade" and "Latin-lade," (Cricklade and Lechlade,) having been united and transplanted to Oxford, is found even as early as John Bromton's Chronicle; and before the close of the fifteenth century we find the myths have extended themselves as far back as the year B.C. 1009, when the mythical Memphric founded Oxford in the first year of his reign, making Oxford thus to antedate the supposed foundation of Rome by upwards of 250 years!

But whether it is a question of Alfred or of Memphric, as far as Oxford is concerned we have to look to the same class of "authorities," namely, the imaginative writers of the fourteenth and fifteenth, not the real historians of the eleventh and twelfth century.

A.D. 912. *Edward the Elder takes possession of London and Oxford.*

I say distinctly, the history of Oxford begins with the year 912; but before giving the *historical events* of this year, it will be necessary, in order to fulfil the object of my Lecture, to say a few words on the *historical authority* of the records made use of.

The ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE stands foremost in importance amongst our national records on several grounds, not least on account of the high antiquity of the manuscript copies which we still possess. It is not one single chronicle of the date of the last event recorded in it, but there are practically a series of chronicles in-

cluded under this one name, comprising the period from the in-
vasion by Cæsar to the end of King Stephen's reign. It is true
we know nothing of the personality of the authors, but there is
good reason to suppose that there was one record, compiled offi-
cially from all the available sources, about the time of King Alfred,
and then carried on by different but contemporary compilers.

The internal evidence derived from a comparison of the various
MSS., would fix the general compilation about the time named;
but we have, besides, the record of the French poet of the twelfth
century, Geoffrey Gaimar, which is not to be despised, who refers
distinctly to it being compiled under the direction of King Alfred.
These are his words, as nearly as I can render them " :—

> "Nor at that time did any single man
> . Have knowledge who was each successive King
> Except the Monks, and Abbey-canons, who
> Made records of the lives of these their Kings ;
> Each to his comrade thus addressed himself,
> To shew him what he thought the true account
> Of these their Kings, and how long each had reigned ;
> How he was named, and how he met his end ;
> Which died a violent—which a natural death ;
> Which one was buried, which was left to rot.
> And to the Bishops, in like manner, did
> These clerks their application thus address :

ⁿ I think it well to give the passage in the original Norman-French. Being in
doubt as to my rendering of some of the lines, I asked my friend, M. Francisque-
Michel, whose Norman-French scholarship is well known, to give me a literal
modern French version. This some may like to have also, so I have printed it
by the side of the other.

L'Estorie des Englès, line 2,319.

Ne cel tens sul ne saveit
Nuls hom ki chescon rei estait ;
Mès moignes e chanoines de abeies,
Ki des reis escristrent les vies,
Si adresçat chescon son per,
Pur la veraie reison mustrer
Des reis ; cumbien chescon regnat,
Coment out nun, coment deviat ;
Quel fu oscis, e quels transi,
Quels est entrés, e quels purri :
E des eveskes, ensement,
Firent li clerc adrescement.

L'Histoire des Anglais.

Ni [en] ce temps seulement ne savait
Nul homme quel était chaque roi,
Si ce n'est moines et chanoines d'abbayes,
Qui des rois écrivirent les vies.
Chacun s'adressait à son compagnon,
Pour la vraie explication montrer
Des rois ; combien chacun [d'eux] regna,
Comment eut nom, comment mourut ;
Lequel fut tué, et lequel trépassa,
Lequel est enterré, et lequel pourri :
Et aux évêques pareillement
Firent les clercs appel.

Whence a great book—A CHRONICLE by name :
The English put together all the parts,
And so 'tis now a record 'authorized ;'
Which—in the Bishop's Court at Winchester
Is kept—the rightful history of Kings,
Their lives, and all that memory preserves.
King ALFRED of this book himself took charge,
And made it fast, and fixed thereto a chain.
Those who desired to read it saw it well,
But from its place no one removed the book."

And again, when speaking of Alfred, Gaimar refers again to this Chronicle :—

" He made his men to write an English book,
Of the events and also of the laws
And of the battles fought throughout the land,
And of the Kings themselves who war did wage.
And many books he made his men to write,
To which good scholars oft resort, and read."

Of the MSS. which we possess of this valuable Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the chief in importance as to date is that (A) preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, extending from the invasion by Cæsar to the year 891, and there is little reason to doubt but that the *MS. itself is absolutely of this latter date ;* in other words, that we have the Chronicle as the chronicler left it, brought

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Croniz ad nun, un livere grant ;
Engleis l'alerent asemblant.
Ore est issi auctorizez,
K'à Wincestre, en l'eveskez,
Là est des reis la dreite estorie
E les vies e la memorie.
Li reis Elfred l'out en demaine,
Fermer i fist une chaine,
Ki lire i volt bien i guardast,

Mais de son liu ne l'remuast.

line 3,451.
Il fist escrivere un livre Engleis
Des aventures e des leis
E de[s] batailles de la terre,
E des reis ki firent la guere ;
E maint livere fist-il escrivere,
U li bon clerc vont sovent lire.

Cronique a nom, un grand livre ;
Des Anglais le compilerent.
A présent [il] est ainsi reconnu
Qu' à Winchester, en l' évêché,
Là est des rois la vraie histoire
Et les vies et la mémoire.
Le roi Alfred l'eut en [sa] possession,
Fixer y fit une chaîne,
[Pour que celui] qui lire y voulut bien
y regardât,
Mais de son lieu point ne le déplaçât.

Il fit écrire un livre [en] anglais
Des aventures et des lois
Et des batailles du pays,
Et des rois qui firent la guerre ;
Et maint livre fit-il écrire,
Où les bons clercs vont souvent lire.

down to his own time, and are not dependent upon a later copyist, which is so generally the case with our early records. There are interpolations by a later hand, seemingly of the twelfth century, and continuations by several hands, but the difference of the hand-writing is clearly marked. Another MS. (B) of a century later, and preserved amongst the Cottonian MSS., is written in the same hand-writing down to the year 977. Two more (C, D) of the eleventh century, (also in the Cottonian collection); one is in the same hand-writing to the year 1046, and is continued by a later hand to 1066; the other is in the same hand to 1016, and is continued to 1079. There is one (E) in the Bodleian Library, written in one hand to 1122, with additions made by various hands to the year 1154. Two more exist also (F, G) of the twelfth century. There are additions and variations in all, and it would appear that there were several copies distributed about the ninth century; of these, only one absolutely remains, while others have formed the basis from which MSS. B to E, and others, have been copied, with the ad-ditions which progress of time had rendered necessary, and with interpolations which acquaintance with other records had enabled their possessors to make.

Now in none of these MSS., either in the original writing or in the interpolations by later hands, does the name of Oxford once occur until the year 912, and then this one circumstance is re-corded :—

" An. DCCCC.XII Her gefor Æðered ealdormon on Mercum. ꝺ Eadweard cyng feng to Lundenbyrg. ꝺ to Oxna-forda. ꝺ to ðæm landum eallum þe þærto hierdon b."

" An. 912. This year died Æthered, aldorman of the Mercians; and King Edward took possession of London and Oxford, and all the lands which thereto belonged."

This passage occurs thus in all the six MSS. named, although in MS. D and MS. F it is inserted (probably erroneously) under the events of the year 910.

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b The extract is printed from an early addition to MS. A. The passage occurs in all the six MSS. The variations in the later MSS. are very slight, e.g. in B and C, Ealdorma*nn* on Myr*c*um; in E, Myr*cena* eal*dor* fordferde; in B, C, and F, c*i*ng, and in D, *cyn*ing. In B, C, and D, Lundenbyrig; in F, Lundenberi. In B and C, D and F, hyrdon; in E, *gebyredon*. All have Oxnaforda except F, which has Ox*a*naforda. I should add that I have throughout made use of the excellent edition of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle edited by Benjamin Thorpe, and issued under the direction of the Master of the Rolls.

Besides, however, the interpolations made in the MSS. of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle by twelfth-century scribes, we have historians of that period who made use of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in the histories which they wrote, adding all the information which was obtainable from other sources ; and first amongst them in point of date stands FLORENCE OF WORCESTER.

He died in the year 1118, but his Chronicle was continued by another hand to the year 1131 ; and, in one or two MSS., to ten years later still [e].

Basing his work on a general chronology by Marianus Scotus, Florence chiefly used the Saxon Chronicle between 455 and 597, and then chiefly Bede, inserting from lives of saints, till 732, when he returns to the Saxon Chronicle, but interspersing many notes still derived from the lives of saints. Further on, he makes use of Asser's Life of Alfred, and besides the legends of saints, material derived from other sources. The main point to be observed is that he has found *no mention of Oxford* worthy of record till he comes to this same year, 912.

His record of the year does not exactly follow the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, but stands thus. I give the words as literally as I can :—

"DCCCC.XII. Ethered, 'Aldorman' (dux), 'Patrician' (patricius), Lord (dominus), and sub-Ruler (subregulus) of the Mercians, a man of excellent worth, after having done many good deeds, died. After his death his wife Ægelfleda, who was daughter of King Alfred, for some time most firmly held rule over the kingdom of the Mercians, except London and Oxford, which cities her cousin King Edward kept in his own power [d]."

Although not following verbatim his authority, Florence deduces easily from it the fact that Edward did not at once take possession of the whole of Mercia ; for we find it recorded in the Chronicle further on, that in 918 Æthelflæd died, in "the eighth year of her rule and right lordship over the Mercians." He therefore has not used any other authority in this instance.

In the same way, in the Chronicle of SIMEON OF DURHAM, which

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[e] There are four MSS. existing as early as the twelfth century, and two or three besides of the thirteenth century. The oldest, A, is perhaps that in Corpus Christi Library in Oxford, the next that in the Lambeth Library. In both, the later part is an addition in a different hand.

[d] Florentii Wigornensis Chronicon, s. a. The edition I have used is that of Petrie, printed in the " Monumenta Britannica."

terminates in 1129 (and there is reason to suppose the writer did not live long afterwards), the first mention of Oxford is in con- nection with the same event, which is briefly narrated :—

"King Edward took possession of London and Oxford and all which belong thereto ᵉ."

Next in order must be named HENRY OF HUNTINGDON. He issued the first edition (so to speak) of his history in 1135, and had ample opportunities for examining all the sources of history which the kingdom could afford. His *first mention of Oxford*, again, is under the year 912, and to the same purport as Simeon of Durham, although he has not copied him, his translation from the Anglo-Saxon being quite different :—

" In the following year, Edred earl of Mercia having died, King Edward seized London and Oxford, and all the land belonging to the province of Mercia ᶠ."

As compared with Florence of Worcester, there is a want of accuracy in the last sentence, because it was not till Æthelflæd's death that Edward took possession of Mercia ; but, as a rule, he is certainly as accurate and as careful as the other historians of his period.

I ought to add, perhaps, to these, ROGER OF HOVEDEN, as he no doubt wrote within the twelfth century. We hear of him as a clerk in the court of Henry II., in 1174. We have only late MS. copies, but in respect of the passage in question, it is identical (for the most part absolutely verbatim) with that of Florence of Worcester.

In order to complete the list of twelfth-century historians who have gone over this ground, and incorporated or extended the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, I must add GEOFFREY GAIMAR, to whom

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ᵉ " Rex Edwardus Londoniam et Oxnaforda, et quæ ad eam pertinent, sus- cepit." This is put under the year 910, as he seems to follow the erroneous chronology. The only early MS. we have is in Corpus Library, Cambridge, and is of the twelfth century. I have used Petrie's edition, printed in the "Monumenta Britannica" as far as 978, after that Twysden's.

ᶠ For the sake of comparison, the original is here given. "Anno sequente, defuncto Edredo duce Merce, rex Edwardus saisivit Londoniam et Oxinefordiam, omnemque terram Mercensi provinciæ pertinentem."—*Hen. Hunt.*, Hist. Anglo- rum, lib. V. s. a. The earliest MS. is in the Arundel Collection, and is of the close of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century : there are two others of the thirteenth century also. This work also is printed by Petrie in the "Monu- menta Britannica."

reference has been already made. The " Estorie " which we possess begins with the arrival of Cerdic, and ends with the death of William II., 1100. He composed his history soon after the middle of the twelfth century, and was prepared to add to it the life of Henry I., but did not do so.

His *first mention of Oxford* is also under the same year, and I again venture a translation [g] :—

> " Just at this time there died a king ; his name
> Was Ethelred ; who o'er the Mercians ruled.
> This Ethelred o'er London too, held sway :
> Alfred the King it was who placed him there,
> For he received it not in heritage.
> Now when about to die he wisely did,
> By rendering to King Edward his just rights
> With everything which did thereto belong ;
> London he yielded, ere he yet was dead,
> Likewise he gave the town of Oxenford,
> And with the towns the districts and the shires
> Which were dependent upon each of them."

The above, then, is the evidence to be derived from our chief historians of the twelfth century, who have, in compiling their history of England from the year 500 to the year 912, inserted all matters of importance which they could glean, and who, as is seen, have never once mentioned Oxford in their records of the kingdom before the commencement of the tenth century.

There are other chroniclers of great esteem who go over the period from Augustine to the Conquest, and, in some cases, while

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[g] I also append the original, with the modern French reading given me by my friend M. Francisque-Michel.

L'Estorie des Engles, line 3,477.	*L'Histoire des Anglais.*
En icel tens morust uns reis	En ce temps mourut un roi,
Edelret, ki ert sur Merceneis.	Ethelred, qui était sur les Merciens.
Icist Edelret Lundres teneit ;	Cet Ethelred Londres tenait ;
Li reis Elveret mis i l'aveit.	Le Roi Alfred mis l'y avait.
Ne l'aveit mie en heritage ;	[Il] ne l'avait pas [eu] en héritage.
Cum dust morir, si fist ke sage :	Quand il dut mourir, il agit sagement :
Al rei Eadward rendi son dreit,	Au roi Edward il rendi sa légitime,
Od quanqu'il i aparteneit .	Avec toutes ses appartenances.
Lundres rendi ainz k'il fust mort.	Londres [il] rendit avant qu'il fût mort,
E la cité de Oxeneford,	E la cité d'Oxford,
E le païs e les contez	Et le pays et les comtés
Ki apendeient as citez.	Qui dépendaient des cités.

copying the substance of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, vary it, but they are of later date than the twelfth century. Of the thirteenth century may be named Roger of Wendover, continued by Matthew Paris, Rudburn, Ralph 'de Diceto,' John of Oxenedes, besides several monastic annals. Of the fourteenth century are John Bromton, Ralph Higden, Matthew of Westminster (so-called), William Thorne, and Knighton (beginning about 950); and again, several monastic annals, the compilation of which appears to be of this time. It would be simply tedious to give these later variations throughout; and I may say that, for the most part, I have myself referred to them and found nothing of importance which in any way throws any additional light upon the events as narrated by the chroniclers of the twelfth century respecting Oxford.

Before passing, however, to the next event mentioned, it may not be out of place to complete the *negative* evidence as to the existence of Oxford before this particular date, A.D. 912. I cannot but think that, if we take the whole of the circumstances into account, the negative evidence will assume a positive aspect. In other words, that instead of being content with the bare assertion that there is no evidence of the existence of an important town prior to the year 912, it may be reasonably asserted that no town of importance could have existed on the site of Oxford long prior to that date.

The considerations are these. It is not as if we were devoid of contemporary history, nor as if that contemporary history failed to speak of the district in question. Considering the lapse of time, and the nature of the history which we should expect, we know a good deal about this part of the kingdom.

And first of all BEDE should be called in, so to speak, as a witness. Born in 672, he compiled his Chronicle from all sources available to him, bringing it down almost to the year of his death, 735.

Although writing in the north, a large part of his history concerns the southern districts, and especially the events connected with the see of Canterbury. It is to him that we are indebted for the following record :—

"At that time (i.e. *c.* 639) the nation of the West Saxons . . . received the faith of Christ, in the reign of Cynegils, by the preaching of the word to them by Birinus the Bishop, who had come to Britain by the advice of Pope Honorius. . . . Therefore, whilst he was preaching, . . . it happened that Oswald the most holy

and victorious King of the Northumbrians was present. . . Moreover, the two kings granted the same Bishop the see which is called *Dorchester* (Dorcic) to establish there an Episcopal see [h]."

Why, it may be fairly asked, was Dorchester chosen, if an important city like Oxford was standing within ten miles of the site, especially if it had an University? Yet many of the writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in their arguments, contend that it already possessed this at the time. At the very least, Bede himself, one of the greatest scholars of his day, would have somehow referred to the place if learned men were living there ; but nowhere throughout his work is Oxford mentioned.

GILDAS (whom Bede quotes, and who wrote his Epistle, it is supposed, *c.* A.D. 560) gives very little information as to the country, his whole Epistle being filled with invective, and not half-a-dozen names of places being even incidentally given. NENNIUS, however, who ranks next as to date amongst our historians, and who possibly lived in the ninth century, gives a special list of the thirty cities of Britain ; although at least half cannot be identified with modern names, there is no reason whatever which can be assigned for applying any one of them to Oxford.

ASSER, in his Life of Alfred [i], must have mentioned Oxford if his king and patron had founded an University there, or even restored one which had already existed. This difficulty was seen by the Oxford antiquaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The presence of some such record was absolutely necessary to complete the evidence derived from the so-called traditions of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries ; its absence was damning ; and so one of the boldest of literary forgeries was attempted by Camden, namely, the printing an edition of Asser with a passage *inserted* mentioning the University of Oxford.

Besides which, in the Hyde Abbey Chronicle is preserved a copy of KING ALFRED'S WILL, which is admitted to be genuine ; and amongst fifty names of places, at the least, mentioned in it, Oxford

[h] Bedæ Hist. Eccl., Gentis Anglorum, lib. iii. cap. 7. An edition of this also is given in the "Monumenta Britannica." I have availed myself of Mr. Gidley's rendering of the passage, in his new translation of Bede's History. (Oxford, 1870.)

[i] On the credibility of Asser's Biography, and of the purpose which he had in writing it, see a very excellent paper by the late Dr. Shirley, printed in the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society's Reports for 1864.

is entirely ignored[j]. Surely, directly or indirectly, from property held in, or property bequeathed to the place, it would have been named, had he had any share whatever in founding an University there ; or, indeed, had anything of the nature of an University existed there [k].

Nor is it to be overlooked that while the ANGLO-SAXON CHRO-NICLE, between A.D. 500 and 912, is entirely silent about Oxford, it is not from the absence of events taking place in its neighbour-hood. Here are some extracts from that Chronicle :—

"A.D. 556. In this year Cynric and Ceawlin fought against the Britons at *Banbury* (Bcranburh).

"A.D. 571. In this year Cutha fought against the Brito-Welsh at *Bedford* (Bcdcanford), *Lenbury* (Lygeanburgh), and *Aylesbury* (Æglesburh), *Benson* (Bænesington), and *Ensham* (Egonesham).

"A.D. 635. In this year Cynegils was baptized by Birinus the Bishop at *Dor-chester* (Dorkeceastre).

"A.D. 648. In this year Kenweath gave to Cuthred his kinsman three thousand hides of land by *Ashdown* (Æcesdun). Cuthred was son of Cwichelm[l].

"A.D. 661. Wulfhere, son of Penda, committed ravage as far as *Ashdown* (Æcesdun).

"A.D. 752. In this year Cuthred, King of the West Saxons, in the twelfth year of his reign, fought at *Burford* (æt Beorgeforda) against Athelbald, King of the Mercians.

"A.D. 777. In this year Cynewulf and Offa fought at *Benson* (ymb Benesing-tun), and Offa took the town.

"A.D. 871. In this year the army came to *Reading* (to Readingum) in Wessex, and three nights after two jarls rode up, when the Alderman Ethelwulf met them at *Inglefield* (on Englafelda) and there fought against them.

"And four nights after King Æthered and Ælfred his brother fought with all the army at *Ashdown*."

It seems, from a consideration of these and similar passages, that up to the period of the first and earliest record Oxford could not

[j] If it be objected that only property within the boundary of Wessex is named in his will, it only adds another argument against the probability of Alfred having chosen Oxford for a site for his University, as this place was over the border.

[k] Of Ethelward's Chronicle, and one or two other remains of literature of this date, it is not necessary to speak, except to say generally that the name of Oxford does not occur.

[l] Ashdown would be on the slope on the other side of the Berkshire hills, as seen from the neighbourhood of Oxford. But from any high prominence, e.g. Cumnor Hurst, will be seen a marked clump of trees along the top line of this range of hills ; this is Cwichelmes-hlæw, now called Cuckamsley, but written in the Ordnance Survey of England " Scutchamfly Barrow."

have been a city of importance, either on account of its wealth and population, or by reason of its learning, or even from its holding a position advantageous on strategic grounds. But in 912 we find it named as one of the two places, London being the other, of which King Edward took possession.

I do not understand why he should have taken possession of Oxford especially, unless it be that he took upon himself the responsibility of defending the whole valley of the Thames against the still-continued aggressions of the Danes. It is not as if his sister Æthelflæd, the widow of the late ruler of Mercia, was hostile to him. They had a common object, because a common enemy; and I cannot but think that while Æthelflæd, continuing the defence which her late husband had begun, fortified Warwick, Tamworth, and other places which, from her position, she was bound to do, Edward, the king, in whom the chief responsibility lay, undertook his share; along the line of the Thames, probably the old British outposts, as St. George's Hill, near Walton-on-Thames, Windsor (if it was such), and Sinodun, could be occupied in case of need by his men; but beyond Sinodun Hill, with Dorchester opposite, defended by the angle formed by the tributary river Thame, the next site well-protected by water would be Oxford, where a similar angle is formed by the Cherwell. I think there can be little doubt that the remarkable mounds within the castle precincts at Tamworth and Warwick [m], were the work of Æthelflæd. A precisely similar mound occurs in Oxford Castle. At Warwick, we are told by one of the MSS. of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, " this year was Warwick built." In that case, I expect the fortress was the nucleus of the town. But at Oxford the town already existed, having found a nucleus in a nunnery, of which I will speak further presently. Here, I expect, Edward erected the mound which we still have remaining.

I now pass on to the second event recorded.

[m] I should like to know if there are similar mounds remaining at Bremesbyrig (qy. Bromborrow) erected in 910; at Scergeate (?), Bridgenorth, Hertford, Witham (in Essex), or Stafford, in 913; at Eddisbury, in 914; at Cyricbyrig (qy. Cherbury, Salop), Weardbyrig (qy.), or Rumcofa (Runcorn, Cheshire), in 915. As they all belong to one system of fortification, it is possible, (if medieval engineers or modern speculators have not destroyed the earthworks,) they may be found to possess a common character.

A.D. 924. *Ælfweard dies at Oxford.*

The next event narrated in connection with the history of the place is that from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under the year—

"A.D. DCCCCXXIV. Her Eadweard cing gefor on Myrcum æt Fearndune. ⁊ Ælfweard his sunu swiþe hraþe þæs gefor (ymbe xvi dagas) on Oxnaforda. ⁊ heora lic licgaᵹ on Wintanceastre ⁿ."

"A.D. 924. In this year King Eadweard died in Mercia at Farndon ᵒ ; Ælfweard his son very shortly (about 16 days) after died at Oxford, and their bodies lie at Winchester."

Florence of Worcester has thus followed the above in his Chronicle :—

"And not long after his son Ælfweard died at *Oxenford*, and was buried where his father was."

In the line before he had told us,—

"And his [i.e. Edward's] body was carried to Winchester and was buried in a royal manner in the ' New Monastery ᵖ.' "

Henry of Huntingdon gives the above in different words �q, but the place of Ælfweard's death is not mentioned by Simeon of Durham or Geoffrey Gaimar. I can give no information about this Ælfweard, son of Edward. If one of the elder children, he might have been entrusted with the command of the fortress ; but if still a youth, he may have been on his way to his father, and taken ill here, and so died in the place. As will be seen by the note, one half of the Chronicle MSS. omit all reference to Ælfweard, besides which, these make Edward's death take place in 925. I do not think we can

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ⁿ The extract is printed from MS. B. MSS. C and D follow it verbatim, the latter introducing the "16 days." MSS. A, E, and F omit all reference to Ælfweard.

ᵒ Farndon in Northamptonshire.

ᵖ This was the new Monastery founded especially with a view to educational purposes by King Alfred, or perhaps more correctly speaking by Grimbald, who had been summoned from France to assist him, but the foundation was not completed till after Alfred's death.

�q I give side by side the two Latin translations from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, by Florence of Worcester and Henry of Huntingdon, simply to shew how each is independent of the other :—

"Cujus Corpus Wintoniam delatum, in Novo-monasterio regio more sepelitum.

"Nec multo post filius ejus Alfwardus apud Oxenfordam decessit, et sepultus est ubi et pater illius. Florent. Wigorn. Chron., s. a."

"Nec longe post migravit a corpore apud Ferandune, et Alfwarde filius ejus cito post patrem defecit apud Oxineforde ; et sepulti sunt apud Wincestre. H. Hunt. Hist. Angl., lib. V. s. a."

argue from the passage that there was as yet anything of the nature of a royal residence in Oxford.

No events are now recorded in connection with Oxford until the beginning of the next century.

A.D. 1002. *The massacre of Danes at Oxford.*

In accordance with my plan of depending wholly on "authorities," I must defer remarks upon this till I come to the year 1015.

A.D. 1009. *The Danes burn the town of Oxford.*

"An. M.IX. And oft hi on þa buruh Lundene fuhton. Ac si Gode lof þ heo gyt gesund stent. ꝼ hi þær æfre yfel geferdon. ꝼ þa æfter middanwintra. þa namon hi ænne upgang ut þuruh Ciltern. ꝼ swa to Oxenaforda. ꝼ ða buruh forbærndon. ꝼ namon hit ða on twa healfa Temese to scypeweard ʳ."

"A.D. 1009. And they often fought against the town of London, but to God be praise that it yet stands sound ; and they there ever fared ill. And then, after Midwinter, they took an upward course, out through Chiltern, and so to Oxford, and burned that town, and then took their way, on both sides of the Thames, towards their ships."

Florence of Worcester, making the date 1010, writes :—

"In the month of January the army of the Danes, leaving their ships, go to Oxford through the forest of Chiltern (per saltum qui dicitur Chiltern), and sack the town, and set it on fire, and so in going back they carry on their ravages on both sides of the Thames."

Henry of Huntingdon merely says, "After Christmas the Danes went by Chiltern to Oxford, returning to their ships after they had burned it ;" and Simeon of Durham and Roger of Hoveden follow Florence of Worcester verbatim ˢ.

The army of the Danes had, after their attack upon London, which had proved a failure, marched up the Thames. The usual

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ʳ The extract is printed from MS. C. The MS. A, now written by later hands, has become very meagre, and MS. B ceases entirely with the year 977. MSS. E and F follow the above with little variation, and MS. G gives the substance of the passage in these words : "And after Christmas they took their way towards Oxford, and burned the town ; and then towards their ships."

ˢ The first and valuable Chronicle of Symeon of Durham ends with the year 957 (incidentally with 978). The second, comprising the years 849 to 1129, is obviously a copy, or rather abridgment, of Florence of Worcester, and is therefore of little value. However, for the sake of consistency, I have throughout added to Florence of Worcester the names of his copyists, Symeon of Durham and Roger de Hoveden, wherever they repeat the passage.

route was on the southern side, but they marched along an unusual route, thus avoiding Reading, and over the Chiltern hills. Although now chiefly bare chalk, they must have been, in Florence of Worcester's time, covered with wood, as he speaks of the forest of Chiltern. No resistance seems to have been offered at Dorchester, and therefore they made straight for Oxford. The danger of such incursions had been foreseen by Edward the Elder nearly a century previously, but it is probable that a period of comparative tranquillity had allowed the fortifications to be neglected, and the chief defences, which were no doubt of wood, to become decayed. The Danish march was probably rapid, leaving little time for fresh preparations, and so Oxford easily fell a prey to them. Its houses probably, as well as towers erected for military purposes, were also of wood, and therefore, it is said, they *burned* the town.

A.D. 1013. *The townsmen of Oxford submit to Sweyn.*

"A.D. M.XIII. Wende þa to Oxenaforda. ꝺ seo buruhwaru sona beah ꝺ gislude. ꝺ þanon to Winceastre. ꝺ hi þ ylce dydon '."

"A.D. 1013. He then went to Oxford, and the townsmen immediately submitted and gave hostages ; and thence to Winchester, and they did the same."

Florence of Worcester, followed almost verbatim by Roger of Hoveden, substitutes the following :—

"While his men were acting thus and raving like wild beasts, he (Suanus) came to Oxford, and obtained that city sooner than he thought, and having taken hostages, hastened to Winchester."

Henry of Huntingdon slightly varies the original also, but the substance is the same.

Here, however, must be introduced for the first time another historian, namely, WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY. His History of the Kings of England extends to the year 1125, and was completed probably about that date, as his " Modern History" begins with the year 1126, and, so far as I have observed, he does not mention any event as taking place in Oxford until this year 1013, when he copies the above event in this abridged form :—

"Soon coming to the southern districts, Sweyn obliged the men of Oxford and Winchester to obey his laws ᵘ."

' This extract is from MS. C, which is followed almost literatim by MSS. D, E, and in substance by MS. F.

ᵘ Willelm. Malmesb. Gest. Reg. Angl., lib. ii. § 177.

Although the Danes had been bought off and Thurkill won over, the unfortunate English were not left alone. Sweyn now comes, and again makes a victorious march ; the people seem to be cowed, and to submit rather than fight. Oxford could hardly have been yet built up again ; for though wooden erections do not take so long, perhaps, as stone, still the people were probably poor, and it would have taken them some three or four years to restore the whole of the town. However this may be, it appears they did not wish to risk another conflagration ; they had no army, or no defences which could resist the incursions, and so they yielded " sooner than Sweyn expected."

A.D. 1015. *At the great Gemot at Oxford Eadric betrays Sigeferth and Morkere.*

The next notice of Oxford occurs thus :—

" A.D. M.XV. Her on þissum geare. wæs þ mycle gemot on Oxenaforda. ꝺ ꝺær Eadric ealdorman beswac Siferꝺ ꝺ Morcore. þa yldestan þegenas into Seofon burgum. bepæhte hi into his bure. ꝺ hi man þærinne ofsloh unge- risenlice. ꝺ se cyng þa genam ealle hiora æhta. ꝺ het niman Siferꝺes lafe. ꝺ gebringan hi binnan Ealdelmes- byrig ᵛ."

" A.D. 1015. In this year was the great meeting at Oxford ; and there the aldorman Eadric insnared Sigeferth and Morkere, the chief thanes in the Seven Burghs. He enticed them into his chamber, and therein they were foully slain. And the king then took all their possessions, and ordered Sigeferth's relics to be taken and brought to Malmesbury."

Again Florence of Worcester follows closely (copied almost ver- batim by Simeon of Durham and Roger de Hoveden) in the wake of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle :—

"This year, when there was held a great council (placitum) at Oxford, the perfidious Earl ' Edric Streon' treacherously received into his chamber the most powerful and honourable ministers amongst the Seven-borough men, namely Sigeferth and Morcar, sons of Earngrim, and ordered them to be secretly killed."

Henry of Huntingdon only refers briefly to the fact of "Sigiferth and Morchere—proceres egregii"—being betrayed and slain, but does not add that it took place at Oxford.

Here, however, we have an important addition made by William

ᵛ The extract is printed from MS. C, which is followed almost verbatim by MSS. D, E, and F.

of Malmesbury, which involves some consideration. He gives the
passage thus :—

"The year following, a great council of Danes and of English assembled at
Oxford, and there the king [Ethelred] commanded Sigeferd and Morcard, the
chief nobles amongst the Danes, to be killed, under a pretence of treason which
had been charged against them by the treachery of Edric. Deceiving them by
his friendly advances, he had enticed them into his private chamber (triclinium),
and when they had been made to drink deeply by his servants, who were ex-
pressly charged to effect this, he put an end to their lives. The reason of this
murder was said to be that he desired their property. Their servants were
determined to revenge the death of their lords, but were repulsed by force, and
driven into the tower of the church of S. Frideswide. And as they could not
turn them out, they were burnt by fire. But soon, by the King's penitence, the
stain was blotted out ; the holy place was repaired. *I have read this in writing,*
which is preserved in the *Archives of that Church* as a proof of the fact [x]."

Here we have, for the first time, the church of St. Frideswide
mentioned by any of the historians, and it will be necessary to
consider the circumstances under which it is so. The convent
or Monastery of St. Frideswide, there is no reasonable doubt, ex-
isted before this time ; but for its foundation we are dependent upon
the records, more or less trustworthy, in abbey registers and annals.
And as, without doubt, the foundation of St. Frideswide had much
to do with the increase, if not of the very beginning, of Oxford,
a digression into its early history, though the material is of a dif-
ferent character from that which I have, up to this point, relied on,
will not be out of place.

It is, first of all, to be remarked that William of Malmesbury tells
us the source whence he derives so much of his information as
is additional to that given in the Chronicle : " I have read this,"
he says, " in the archives of that church."

So far as I can learn, there are no very ancient records or charters
respecting the foundation now in existence, but only fourteenth
and fifteenth century copies [y] ; consequently we have to rely upon
the internal evidence, such as accuracy of dates and consistency
with known events, to form our conclusions as to the value of the

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[x] Willelm. Malmesb. Gest. Reg. Angl., lib. ii. § 179. The edition I have used
is that edited by T. Duffus Hardy, London, 1840.

[y] The two chief Registers of S. Frideswide, one of which is preserved at Christ
Church the other in Corpus Christi College Library, are both, I believe, of
the time of Edward III.

testimony which such later transcripts supply. The only extract which I am able to give, but I believe it is the most important one of all, is that which has been preserved by the Oseney register[1] :—

" It is to be noticed that Didanus, a certain King of Oxford, reigned in the year of our Lord's incarnation about 726. This Didanus was father of the Holy S. Frideswide, who gave to her the place which she required, and caused the nun's habit to be placed upon her. He constructed a church, and various buildings most suitable to religion at the same time, *as appears in the life of the holy Virgin.*

" Also it appears, *there*, that the same Virgin peaceably obtained the place which was then called Thornebirie but now Benseye ; for while walking there a fountain sprung forth in answer to her prayers, and she cured one there who was vexed of a devil, and another whose hand clave to an axe (et unum a dæmonio vexatum, et alterum cujus manus securi adhæserat, liberavit). Some time after the glorious death of S. Frideswide, the nuns having been taken away, Secular Canons were introduced.

" Afterwards, in the year of grace 1004, Etheldred ordered all the Danes of either sex then inhabiting the country to be killed, and all those who had fled thither were burnt at Oxford, together with the Church and Ornaments, *as appears from the Charter of Ethelred*, which follows in this wise.

I N the Year of our Lord 1004,—in the 25th year of my reign—I Adelred, by the grace of God ruling over the whole of Albion, have by my royal authority and for the love of the Almighty, established a certain monastery situated in the city which is called Oxoneford, where the body of S. Frideswide reposes, and have recovered the lands which belonged to this same monastery . . .

" And after my edict . . . those of the Danes who were living in the aforesaid city, in attempting to save themselves from death, entered, breaking by force doors and bolts, and turned the Sanctuary of Christ into a fortress for themselves against the citizens and their neighbours ; and when all the attacking people were unable after their endeavours to drive them out, they, being forced by necessity, burnt the church, together with its ornaments and books."

The remainder of the charter concerns the granting to the canons of St. Frideswide their lands, and anathematizing all who should deprive them of the same ; and there are some few boundaries of property supplied by Dugdale from another MS.[2] At the end of these is given the following :—

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[1] Preserved in the Cottonian Library, Vitell. F. xvi. fol. 4 b, but here quoted from Dugdale.

[2] I do not print these boundaries, partly because I cannot depend on the version which Dugdale gives, and partly because the interpretation of the names mentioned belongs to a general description of the neighbourhood of Oxford at this period.   They are, however, interesting to Oxford persons, e.g. one begins " *De Bolles, Covele et Hedyndon*" (Bullingdon, Cowley, and Headington), "Thare beth hide londe ymere into Covelee fro *Charwell brigge* and long the streme on that rithe." Where was this Cherwell bridge? Where the Furlongs-heved, Mere-

"This schedule was written by command of the aforesaid King, in the royal town which is called . . . . ᵇ, on the Octave of S. Andrew the Apostle, these consenting thereto who appear written beneath."

The document is then signed with the following names, each appending his remark. I have added the dates of the bishops' tenures of their several sees :—

    I Ethelred, King of the English.
    I Alfrich, Abp. of Canterbury   (Elfric, 990—1005).
    I Wulstan, Abp. of York   . (Wulfstan, 1003—1022).
    I Ethelric, Bp. of Sherborne   . (1002—1009).
    I Elfgiva, the royal spouse.
    I Adelstan, the eldest son.
    I Alfean, Bp. of Winchester   . (Elphege ᶜ, 984—1005).
    I Alstan, Bp. of Wells   .   . (Elfstan, 999—1012).
    I Alfun, Bp. of London   .   . (Elfwin, 1004—1012).
    I Godwine, Bp. of Lichfield   . (1004—1008).
    I Ordbyrt, Bp. of Sussex,   i.e. Selsey (989—1009).
    I Edelbrit, Bp. of Sherborne   . (Ethelric, 1002—1009).
    I Elfeod, Bp. of Crediton   (Elfwold, 988—1008).

It is also signed by other persons of rank, chiefly earls.

It will be seen that the whole of the signatures agree very well with the date of 1004. It is true that the Bishop of Sherbourne is made to sign twice over, and somewhat differently the second time from the first ; but this may be merely a mistake in copying, and does not prove a later compilation.

When, however, we read the exact date, 1004, at the head of the charter, and find it confirmed by the agreement of the signatures,

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huthe, Dene-acre, the Ockmere, Restell, which occur in the continuation of the Boundary ? Another begins "*De Cudeslawe*" (of which we have the corruption in the name of the farm called "Cutslow," (just off to the right of the Banbury road after passing Summertown), which begins, " Thare beth ij hyde lond ymere into Cudeslawe, erest of Port-strete into Trilliwelle." We then have Byshopesmore, Wyneles-lade, and Wyneles-hull. The editors of Dugdale give these boundaries as from a MS. in the possession of Dr. Langbane, Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, in 1652. I do not know where this MS. is now.

ᵇ The word is illegible in the original.

ᶜ The name is so commonly written thus, that *Alfean* might be thought to be a discrepancy. But the name is really *Ælfeah*, and appears thus in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. I may add that I have taken the list of Bishops, with their dates, from the best authority, Professor Stubbs' "Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum."

how are we to reconcile this with the year given in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the murder of Sigeferth and Morkere? Again, William of Malmesbury says he had access to the " archives of the church ;" one would scarcely, therefore, think that what we have now as the charter of Ethelred could have been in existence in his time, or he would not have recorded the events named in it under 1015, and if so, it would follow that the document would be a forgery of a later epoch.

I am, however, not inclined to admit that the discrepancy throws doubt upon the charter, or upon the general veracity of the chronicler, and I think the reconciliation may be in this way. William of Malmesbury took note of the charter, or the substance of it, without paying particular attention to the exact date. Now if we turn to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle we find, under the year 1002 [d], this very pertinent passage :—

" And in that year the King commanded all the Danish men who were in England to be slain."

This much more nearly agrees with the event to which the charter refers, than the murder of Sigeferth and Morkere, which took place thirteen years later, and which is also, as we have seen, re corded in the same Chronicle. The latter was an assassination only of two chiefs ; the former, a massacre of the Danes generally. But it is easy to understand how William of Malmesbury should have confused the two in his notes, and having done so, he had to invent the circumstance of the *servants* of the two chiefs aveng ing their masters' death in order to make it agree with the narra tive of *several* people having taken refuge in the tower. Now nothing is said of these servants in the Chronicle, nor in the charter in question.

Hence, it is clear that we have *two distinct events* happening at Oxford.

One, the general massacre of the Danes in 1002, which was ordered to be made throughout the country (commonly called the massacre of St. Brice, from having taken place on that saint's

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[d] In all probability the grant was made within a short time after the massacre, that is, in 1003, but the charter would not be prepared for signature much before 1004. The twenty-fifth of Ethelbert's reign would be 1003 or 1004, according to whether he " was hallowed King" in 978 or 979.

day), and which was attended in Oxford with the circumstances recorded in the Charter.

The other, the assassination, in 1015, of two chiefs, Sigeferth and Morkere, of which we know nothing more than is recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle [e].

Before, however, leaving the subject of St. Frideswide, it will be well to add, that William of Malmesbury, in another of his works, the " Liber de Gestis Pontificum [f]," gives an account of the saint and the foundation of the monastery. His source was no doubt the same records which he had access to, and to which he referred, in his history of the English kings.

The passage occurs in his chapter on the Bishops of Dorchester, and begins as follows :—

"There was anciently in Oxford city a convent of Nuns, in which the body of the most holy Virgin reposes. This King's daughter despised marriage with a King, and gave herself wholly to Christ."

He then follows the usual legend, telling how the king persecutes her, and how she takes refuge in Oxford " one stormy night ;" how the king follows her, and is struck blind. Eventually, however, by St. Frideswide's prayers and by the king's confession of his fault, he regains his sight. " Hence," he adds, (probably following the words of the legend,)—

"Hence fear fell on the Kings of England, so that they dared not enter or reside in that city, for it was reckoned baneful."

He goes on to say that it was in consequence of this miracle, that she founded her convent in Oxford, and then adds the account

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[e] While on the one hand neither in the Charter nor in the introduction is there a single word respecting Edric, Sigeferth, or Morkere, on the other hand, *what is* recorded there agrees exactly with what Henry of Huntingdon says of the massacre of S. Brice under 1002. He says, " The king being elated with pride, secretly ordered all the Danes to be treacherously murdered on one and the same day, that is to say on the festival of S. Britius. And of this piece of wickedness *I in my youth heard some very old people speak,* how the King sent secret letters to each city, in accordance with which, on the same day and at the same hour, the English either killed all the Danes who were unprepared, with swords, or having suddenly seized them *burned them with fire.*"

Elsewhere, too, William of Malmesbury blunders as to the date of the massacre of the Danes of 1002, giving it as the cause of Swegen's attack in 1013.

[f] W. Malmesb. De Gest. Pont. Angl., lib. iv. Edited from the Autograph MS. by N. E. S. A. Hamilton. London, 1870.

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of the Danes taking refuge in the monastery, but without any refer-
ence to Sigeferth and Morkere ; indeed, he probably used here
the very notes he had made, and which agree with the charter.
The passage runs thus :—

"In the time of Egelred, when the Danes who were condemned to death had
fled into the monastery, they as well as the buildings were through the insatiable
rage of the English destroyed by fire.

"But soon the repentance of the King caused to be built for them a purified
shrine, and a restored monastery. Their lands were given back, and fresh
possessions added."

His remarks respecting the history of the monastery then relate
to his own days ; he says, " *In our time*, there being few clerks,
Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, has given the monastery to Prior
Guimond," but this of course relates to a period beyond the
scope of this present lecture.

I need not give the legends as told in the " Libellus incerti Auc-
ris de Vita Sanctæ Fridiswidæ," nor as by John of Tynemouth. The
details and the miracles vary, but they all point to the general con-
clusion that somewhere about the eighth or ninth century there
was a convent of nuns established in Oxford, which afterwards
was done away with, and the buildings converted into a monas-
tery, but at what date the foundation or the changes took place
there is no record on which dependance can be placed.

All I can say is, that in all probability this religious foundation
was the nucleus round which Oxford grew up, and that it appears in
1002 to have had its church, with a tower of some strength, to which
the persecuted Danes fled as the best place of safety, although that
tower may have been *of wood*.

I may pass on now to the next event.

A.D. 1016. *Edmund the King is murdered at Oxford.*

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records the death of Edmund under
the year 1016 in these words : " Then, at St. Andrew's mass, died
King Edmund." It gives no further particulars, nor the place
of his death.

Florence of Worcester copies these words, but adds "at London [g],"

[g] Just in the same way Florence of Worcester stands alone amongst the
Chroniclers (excepting of course those who have copied from him) in making
King Harold die at London, instead of Oxford, in 1040.

giving no particulars whatever. Simeon of Durham and Roger de Hoveden, as before, copy him verbatim.

But Henry of Huntingdon gives the circumstance of his death in detail, and he says it occurred in Oxford. His account runs in substance thus :—

"Edmund the King was a few days afterwards killed at Oxford by treachery. And thus he was murdered. When the King, so terrible to his enemies and so much feared in his kingdom, went one night into his private chamber, the son of Edric, by the council of his father, having concealed himself . . . stabbed the King twice with a sharp knife, leaving the instrument in the wound, and then fled. Edric then coming to King Cnut saluted him saying, 'Hail, thou art sole king!' When he had made manifest what he had done, the King replied, 'I will make thee, on account of thy most high deserts, higher than all the tall men of the English.' And so he ordered him to be beheaded, and his head to be fixed on the top of a pole, on the highest tower of London. Thus died Edmund, a brave king, after he had reigned but one year, and he was buried next to Edgar his grandfather at Glastonbury [h]."

Malmesbury mentions the death of Edmund, and says, "By what accident is unknown ;" but he further adds, "Fame asperses Edric as having compassed his death." He gives the story in its main particulars, similar to that of Huntingdon, evidently not copying from him, but, as he implies, from some common rumour ; he omits, however, to mention Oxford as the scene of the assassination.

Here, then, is a difficult question. We have two writers of precisely the same time, one giving the account all the weight of history, the other dismissing it as a libel on Edric. It is not, however, from any appreciation of the character of this Eadric, to whom the murder is imputed, that Malmesbury throws doubt upon the story, for he has before (bk. ii. § 165) spoken of him as a man "infamously skilled in such deeds," i.e. regicide ; and in the next line he adds,—I must give it in the Latin,—"Fæx hominum, et dedecus Anglorum, flagitiosus helluo, versutus nebulo cui nobilitas opes pepererat, lingua et audacia comparaverat."

On the other hand, I cannot find any reason for Henry of Hunt-

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[h] The original of a portion of the above passage runs thus : "Cum rex hostibus suis terribilis, et timendissimus in regno floreret, ivit nocte quadam in domum evacuationis, ad requisita naturæ, ubi filius Edrici ducis in fovea secretaria deli-tescens, consilio patris, regem inter celanda cultello bis acuto percussit ; et inter viscera ferrum figens, fugiens reliquit." H. Hunt. Hist. Anglorum, lib. vi. s. a. This diabolical mode of assassination is recorded in other instances during the Middle Ages.

ingdon's either inventing such a story, or any motive which would prompt him to insert it if he was not satisfied of its general pro- bability. Malmesbury does not attempt to deny that he met with a violent death, and he fixes no other place for it. On these grounds, considering the general balance of evidence, I am in- clined to think that Oxford may have been again this year, as the last, the scene of a crime.

There is one consideration which may be worth very little, but it is indirectly connected with the history of the place, and I there- fore suggest it. The position and influence of the instigators of the assassination may well have prevented a record being made in the chronicles, and hence the handing down of the story would have to depend wholly upon tradition; and further, in no place would that tradition be likely to be better preserved than where the event took place. Now there is reason to suppose that Henry of Huntingdon had an intimate friend in Oxford, an historian like himself, who probably assisted him with material in compiling his history. His name was Walter; and Henry addresses to him an Epistle [i] upon the "contempt of this world's honours." In it, al- though he does not say as much, there is enough to imply that the letter is from one archdeacon to another, and he speaks more than once of *our* bishop, so that the two were in the same diocese. There is plenty of evidence to shew that there was at this time an archdeacon of Oxford named Walter. He, amongst others, is pre- sent at the foundation of Godestow in 1139, and signs the charter officially, and I also observe his signature as Archdeacon as early as 1115 [k]. Moreover, he was an historian, or at least "learned in histories." GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH (whom, by-the-bye, I have not yet mentioned amongst the twelfth-century writers [l]), owes to

[i] This Epistle is not printed in Twysden's edition, but it is given as a separate tract—the last—in Wharton's "Anglia Sacra," vol. ii. p. 694.

[k] It appears as a signature to a grant at this date of the Church of Ed- wardestune (in Suffolk) to Abingdon Abbey. (Chron. Monast. de Abingdon, vol. ii. p. 64.)

[l] His History only reaches to the time of the conquest of Britain by the Eng- lish. Almost the last paragraph is, "Ab illo tempore potestas Britonum in insula cessavit; et Angli regnare cœperunt." Among very many places mentioned, I cannot see any one at all likely to refer to a place on the site of Oxford : besides which so much of the history is mythical, that it would be difficult to obtain facts from it. I had therefore no reason for referring to it.

him the curious collection of British legends, which he translated and issued as "Historia Britonum," and begins it by expressing wonder that he could find nothing in Gildas and Bede about the early British kings, but—

"Whilst I was constantly thinking over such matters and the like, *Walter the Archdeacon of Oxford*, a man skilled in oratory and learned in foreign histories, obtained for me a very ancient book, which exhibited the deeds of all the kings of the Britons, from Brutus to Cadwalader [m]."

At the close, he again refers to his authority as "that book written in the British language which Walter, the archdeacon of Oxford, brought out of Brittany." Walter seems also to have been known to Geoffrey Gaimar, whom I have already quoted on more than one occasion, and who speaks of "the *good book* of Oxenford" which Walter the archdeacon had, and which corrected the errors in those books which he himself had purchased [n].

It seems to me, therefore, that if the argument is made to turn upon the probability of Henry of Huntingdon being cognisant of any event which took place in Oxford, but which was not else where recorded, it may fairly be advanced that he had in Oxford a friend who, from his fondness for history, was likely to be well acquainted with the traditions of the place. This friend died about the year 1140, and just before Henry's epistle reached him, for it ends with his epitaph. If the Archdeacon was sixty years of age at his death [o], he might in his youth have conversed with people who were living when the murder took place.

On the whole, I quite see that the evidence of the death of the king at Oxford rests on less sure ground than the other events re corded; but I have thought it well, instead of dismissing it as a fiction of Henry of Huntingdon, to shew what there is to be said for it.

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[m] Galfredi Monumetensis, Historia Regum Britanniæ, lib. i. § 1. The edition I have referred to is that edited by Dr. Giles, London, 1844.

[n] "Ke li Waleis ourent leissé,   Ki fust Walter l'Arcediaen,
K'il aveit ainz purchasé;   Si en amendat son livere bien."
U fust a dreit u fust a tort,   Geoffrey Gaimar, L'Estoire des
Le bon livere de Oxeford,   Engles, line 72 from end.

[o] He must have been quite this, if he was Archdeacon in 1115.

A.D. 1018. *The compact between Danes and English at Oxford.*

The ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE has the following passage under this year :—

"MILLE XVIII. And Dene ⁊ Engle wurdon sammæle æt Oxnaforda P."

"A. D. 1018. And the Danes and the Angles were unanimous at Oxford for Eadgar's law."

Florence of Worcester, followed by Roger of Hoveden, simply translates the exact words, and that very closely. Neither Henry of Huntingdon nor William of Malmesbury refer to this assembly at Oxford.

England was now entirely under the Danish King Cnut, and his holding a council at Oxford shews to what importance the place had now risen. No doubt its central position had something to do with this. The Thames had ceased to be the confine between two great divisions of the kingdom, but still I think the old traditional boundaries of Mercia and Wessex may have had an influence in the selection of the place ᑫ. The result was a meeting, when, no doubt by concessions being made on both sides, there was a complete reconciliation between the new subjects and their new king. It is the first event that we have yet come to of this class. We found, in 912, Oxford preparing to resist the enemy's attack, (at least, so I have ventured to interpret the passage). In 924 the king's son died here. In 1002 it was the scene of the burning of unsuspecting Danes, who had fled to a church tower for safety. In 1009 the city was sacked and burnt; and in 1013 it ignominiously surrendered to the enemy. In 1015 it saw the treacherous murder of two of the chiefs of an important district. In 1016 it was very possibly the scene of a detestable assassination of a king.

A long list of events, becoming blacker and blacker, without a single bright spot in the whole. But we turn the leaf now, and the remaining events are, for the most part, of a different kind.

A.D. 1034. *A Reference to the Church of St. Martin at Oxford.*

I have now to introduce another authority, namely the ABINGDON ABBEY CHRONICLE. I must at once admit that the only transcripts

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P This is from MS. C. It is followed almost *literatim* in MSS. D, E, F.

ᑫ It was the place of the Gemot, as will be seen, in 1036, and again in 1065.

we have are of the thirteenth century, and therefore in a degree later than the authorities on which I profess to depend. But though these transcripts are of this date as a whole, we have been able to test the accuracy of the transcriber's work in fifteen or twenty instances as regards the charters (which are most important of all), from the circumstance that the original *documents* of the ninth and tenth century are in existence, which the monks, one at the beginning of the thirteenth century, one nearer its close, no doubt made use of in transcribing their chronicle.

The following charter of King Cnut occurs in both the transcripts. Unfortunately, it is not one of those of which the original remains. It runs as follows :—

" *Charter of King Cnut concerning Linford.*

". . . . Wherefore I Cnut, by God's mercy and goodness King of all Albion, have granted for ever the small plot of ground which is called by the inhabitants of these parts Linford, that is to say sufficient quantity for two tenants, and a certain *monasteriolum*, with its adjacent land (prædiolo) in the city which is known by the celebrated name of Oxford . . . to God and to the Virgin Mary, for the use of the monks who reside at Abingdon . . . '."

Further on in the Chronicle there is again reference to this church :—

" *Of the arrival of Siward.*

"On death of Athelwin, Siward a monk of Glastonbury succeeded as Abbot, and it was due to his goodness that King Cnut gave the Church of S. Martin in Oxford, together with the land (prædiolum) '."

There are, perhaps, no means of fairly judging of the dependence which may be put upon this one particular charter, but as there is no reason to pronounce it spurious ', we have here the first mention of a parish church in Oxford.

St. Frideswide existed, but that belonged to a monastery, and I am inclined to think that not only this is the first mention of a city church, but that this *central church* was the first parish church established in Oxford. Whether it had existed long before this

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' Abingdon Abbey Chronicle, vol. i. p. 439. Issued under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. London, 1858.

' Ibid., p. 443.

' I may remark that Mr. Stevenson, the editor of the "Chronicle" in the Master of the Rolls' Series, and who has had great experience, pronounces it in his opinion "a genuine document," vol. ii. p. 523.

date, or now in the year 1034 only just erected, there is no evidence to shew, but I much suspect the latter. The extracts already given imply that there was some population here, but whether or not St. Frideswide was sufficient to supply their spiritual wants up to this time is purely a matter for conjecture.

A.D. 1036. *The Great Witena-gemot at Oxford.*

"MILLESIMO.XXXVI. Her forðferde Cnut cyng æt Sceaftesbyrig. . . . And sona æfter his forsiðe wæs ealra witena gemot on Oxnaforda. ꝺ Leofric eorl. ꝺ mæst ealle þa þegenas be norðan Temese. ꝺ þa liðsmen on Lunden gecuron Harold to healdes ealles Englelandes. him ꝺ his broðer Hardacnute. þe wæs on Denemearcon ᵘ."

"A.D. 1036. In this year died King Cnut at Shaftesbury. . . . And immediately after his decease, there was a great assembly of all the 'witan' at Oxford ; and Earl Leofric and almost all the thanes north of the Thames, and the 'lithsmen' of London, chose Harold to the government of all England, him and his brother Harthacnut, who was in Denmark."

Florence of Worcester, Simeon of Durham, and Roger de Hoveden, make no mention of this Gemot at Oxford. Indeed their account of the years 1036 and 1037 follows chiefly MSS. C and D, or others of the same class, but introduces in places additional details. William of Malmesbury does the same. Henry of Huntingdon has, on the other hand, followed a Chronicle of the class of MS. E, and mentions the council (placitum) held at Oxford ; but he interprets the last line in a somewhat singular way, so I give the passage entire :—

"Harold, son of King Cnut and Ailiva, the daughter of Earl Alfelm, was chosen king. For there was a great council (placitum) at Oxford, when the 'consul' Lefric and all the thanes (principes) on the north side of the Thames, together with those of London, elected Harold, so that he might keep the kingdom for his brother Hardecnut, who was in Denmark ˣ."

King Cnut had died abroad, and the question had of course arisen who should succeed him. From the Chronicle it would appear that two kings were elected. Florence of Worcester implies that there was a kind of compromise made that Harold was to be

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ᵘ This is taken from MS. E. MSS. C and D do not mention the Witan, and there is a divergence as to facts and dates. MS. F mentions the Witan, but omits to mention that it was held at Oxford.

ˣ Hen. Hunt. Hist. Angl., lib. vi. s. a.

king for his lifetime, and Harthacnut (as I take it) to succeed him. As Harold only lived a short time, the arrangement turned out to be a most simple and satisfactory one. But whatever may be the political aspect of the question, with which I have nothing to do in my lecture, it appears that a very momentous question was at issue, namely, the *choice of a king* for the whole kingdom. As already said, the border position, which probably led to the former "gemot" being held here, had something to do with the choice of place, but it is clear that whatever Oxford gained at first it retained. And we find at this date, therefore, the whole kingdom willing to abide, in no less important a matter than the selection of a king, upon the decision arrived at in Oxford.

A.D. 1039. *King Harold dies at Oxford.*

"MILLESIMO.XXXIX. Her forðferde Harold cyng on Oxnaforda. on xvi. KĪ. Apr. ꝺ he wæs bebyrged æt West- mynstre *ᵧ*."

"A.D. 1039. In this year King Harold died at Oxford on the xvith. of the Kal. of April *ᶻ*, and he was buried at West- minster."

Again, Florence of Worcester, following the class of MSS. C and D, puts the date at 1040, but writes, "Harold, King of the English, died at *London*."

Henry of Huntingdon writes,—

"King Harold, when he had reigned four years and four months, died at Oxford, and he was buried at Westminster;"

and he also places the event under the year 1040.

William of Malmesbury incidentally refers to Harold "dying at Oxford in the month of *April*," at the expiration of three years after 1036.

Simeon of Durham, and Roger de Hoveden, as usual, copy Florence of Worcester. On the whole, I think we may safely follow the MS. E of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and, dismissing the alteration of Florence of Worcester, put the death of Harold at *Oxford* ᵃ.

ᵧ Here again MS. E is the authority, and MSS. C, D, and F omit all reference to Oxford. MS. F places the death of Harold in 1039, but MSS. C and D both place it in 1040.   ᶻ Mar. 17th.

ᵃ Florence of Worcester in the same way makes the death of King Edmund to have taken place at Oxford.

A.D. 1063. *Earl Harold leaves Oxford to go to Wales.*

GEOFFREY GAIMAR is the only writer who mentions Oxford in connection with the journey of Harold and Tosti [b] against the Welsh to attack Griffin their king :—

> "Then went there Tosti from the North,
> Harold from South, from Oxenford."

The Chronicle mentions the journey, and Florence of Worcester describes Harold starting from Gloucester in his first campaign, and Bristol in his second. It is difficult, therefore, to reconcile Gaimar's statement that Harold started from Oxford.

A.D. 1065. *Another Gemot at Oxford.*

We have to pass over twenty years without finding any notice of Oxford, and so we are brought to the year before the Conquest.

"M.LXV. And þa wel raðe þaræfter wæs mycel gemot æt Norðhamtune. ꜧ swa on Oxenaforda. on þon dæig Simonis ꜧ Iude. ꜧ wæs Harold eorl þar. ꜧ wolde heora seht wyrcan. gif he mihte. ac he na mihte [c]."

"A.D. 1065. And then, very shortly after, there was a great 'gemot' at Northampton; and so at Oxford, on the day of St. Simon and St. Jude. And earl Harold was there, and would work their reconciliation if he could, but he could not [d]."

In two other MSS., viz. D and E of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, it is recorded that there was at this time a Gemot at Northampton. The passage runs thus in D :—

"Then came Earl Harold to meet them and they laid an errand on him to King Eadward, and also sent messengers with him, and prayed that they might have Morkere for their Earl. And the king granted it, and sent Harold again to them at Northampton *on the Eve of S. Simon and S. Jude's* mass ; and he made known the same to them, and gave his hand thereto ; and he there renewed Cnut's law."

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[b] *L'Estorie des Engles, line* 5,075.   *L'Histoire des Anglais.*

Donc i alat Tosti del Nort   Donc y alla Tosti du Nord
Harold del Suth de Oxenford.   Harold du Sud d'Oxford.

[c] This is from MS. C. MSS. D and E omit the mention of the Gemot at Oxford, and MS. F has ceased with the year 1058 ; MS. D, however, mentions fully, and MS. E very briefly, the circumstance of Harold being sent to Northampton.   [d] Oct. 28th.

I do not think that one version absolutely discredits the other, for a Gemot may have been held at Oxford as well as at Northampton, and Harold may have been at both ; for it will be observed that the one meeting was held the day after the other, and it was quite possible for Harold, even with an absolute adherence to dates, to have gone direct from Northampton to Oxford, though it would have involved a ride of nearly sixty miles between the two. In the then state of the kingdom, and the important issues at stake, such rapidity was necessary. Florence of Worcester[e] mentions the meeting at Oxford as well as that at Northampton :—

" Afterwards nearly all those of his 'followers' (comitatus) assembled together at Northampton and met Harold Earl of the West Saxons, and the others whom the King, at Tosti's request, had sent to them in order to restore peace. *Where* first of all, and afterwards *at Oxford*, on the feast of the Apostles SS. Simon and Jude, they all unanimously opposed their assent, when Harold and several of the others tried to reconcile Earl Tosti to them."

Henry of Huntingdon has evidently used MSS. D and E, and only mentions the meeting at Northampton ; while William of Malmesbury confines his remarks to an account of the revolt.

I must not omit here—in carrying out my plan of giving the whole of the authorities on Oxford—the Harleian MS. (No. 526), in the British Museum, entitled, " Vita Æduuardi Regis." The work, it seems, was written between 1066 and 1074. The MS. which we possess is probably not of earlier writing than the twelfth century. Under this year, after speaking of the slaughter at York, it is stated that the insurgents continued their wild course—" like a whirlwind or storm"—southward, and reached *Axoneuorde*[f]. There is no doubt that Oxford is meant ; although the spelling is very different from any previous entry.

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[e] I am almost tired of writing, "followed by Simeon of Durham and Roger de Hoveden." It may be said, however, that as they wrote so shortly afterwards, and had (as is shewn by their corrections and additions in some parts) opportunities of testing Florence of Worcester's statements by traditions and documents which we have not, their repetition does in some sort amount to a confirmation. It is a very different case from quoting writers who lived three or four centuries afterwards, and who had far less facilities for judging of the facts, while they were open to the dangers of adding the several fictions which had grown up in the course of time.

[f] Lives of Edward the Confessor, p. 422, Vita Edwardi, line 1157.

The Gemot held on this occasion was not of the same kind as the two which had preceded it. It was called, probably hastily, to attempt to stop the Northumbrian rebellion which had been insti gated by Morkere. Harold, acting for the king, did his best, but his best was simply yielding to the rebels, and letting them have their own way.

A.D. 1067. *Oxford* not *Besieged*.

There is no mention in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, or in any of the twelfth-century historians, of further events taking place in Oxford until the reign of Henry I. I am, therefore, for the re maining part of my documentary evidence, obliged to depend upon the few slight entries in the Abbey Registers and Annals till we come to the Survey taken for the Domesday Book.

But, first, I must make a remark upon an event which will be found recorded not only in nearly all the histories of Oxford[g], but even in historical works of such pretentions as Thierry's *Histoire de la Conquête d'Angleterre*, and in some histories of England[h].

There is no siege of *Oxford* recorded in this year by any of the early chronicles, but there is a siege of *Exeter* recorded by all, and hence the error.

As far as I can ascertain, in attempting to trace the origin, the error first occurs in a MS. copy of Matthew Paris. In the MSS. of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle which are extended to this time, the siege is recorded as at *Exeter*. Florence of Worcester has duly followed this reading, and in his wake the continuators of Simeon of Durham and Roger de Hoveden.

William of Malmesbury, who wrote, as I have said, in the twelfth century, has *Exeter* correctly ; but Saville, who has printed the

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[g] Antony Wood, whom most of the other historians of Oxford have copied, concludes his paragraph on this year by, "All that I shall add, shall be this quære, whether William the Conqueror who is said by several (not ancient) authors (particularly Rich. Grafton) to be so much offended with the Scholars of Oxford that he withdrew their maintenance from them for a time, may not arise from their opposition to him when he besieged it ?"

[h] I observe that Pauli in his History of England (who like all German writers is most careful in his references, &c.) keeps Oxford in his text, though he gives in his note a good reason for arriving at the other conclusion.

most accessible edition of this author, has given the place as Oxford ; and hence William of Malmesbury is quoted as an authority for the erroneous reading, whereas it is only Saville, of the sixteenth century, and not William of Malmesbury of the twelfth, who is really quoted[1].

When, however, we come to Matthew Paris, we find that in two only of the four chief MSS. which we have of his history, the siege is described as taking place ' *this year at Exeter*,' the other two give Oxford. Not only, however, would it be clear from the circumstance of all the early authorities which he used giving Exeter, that Oxford is simply an error, but an examination of the circumstances of the MSS. in question also confirms this view.

The MS. with the name of *Oxford* (a transcript from Roger of Wendover's Chronicle) is of about the middle of the thirteenth century, and Matthew Paris has added some notes to it with his own hand, and in places interpolated whole pages. This MS. is in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and numbered xxvi. There is another MS. extant in the Harleian Collection, which is of the end of the thirteenth century, and is simply an exact copy of the former.

There is, however, another MS. in the Corpus Library (marked No. xvi.) which is absolutely in the *handwriting of Matthew Paris himself*. This has distinctly *Exeter*, and so also the copy of it, which is in the Cottonian Collection. Hence, there is very little doubt that the error originates in the one MS. copied by the scribe, that by Matthew Paris having the passage correctly.

When once an error of this kind has been committed, it is re-markable how it finds its way amongst later writers. I observe it, for instance, in both the Oseney Annals, and in Wykes' Chronicle, (to which I shall have to refer directly,) probably in consequence of the erroneous transcript of Matthew Paris being in their possession.

And once more, (in order to justify my giving so fully the details

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[1] In all the five best MSS. it is certainly Oxon. It is supposed Saville must have printed from some other and later MS., but as far as I can ascertain no trace of this MS. is extant. It is possible that like Archbishop Parker, who often in his printed editions altered the text of his author into what he thought it *ought* to be, so Saville, having found a copy of Matthew Paris with the "Oxford" reading, took upon himself to *correct* William of Malmesbury.

of what seems to me an error,) I may add that Oxford is given as
the place of siege in the preface to the Government edition of the
Domesday Survey of 1816. On the question of so large a number
of the houses in Oxford being returned *Vastæ*, the preface has the
following note :—

"The extraordinary number of houses specified as desolated at Oxford requires
explanation. If the passage is correct, Matthew Paris probably gives us the
cause of it *under the year* 1067, when William the Conqueror subdued Oxford on
his way to York [k]."

It is obvious, from what has been said, that whatever may be
the explanation of the ruinous condition of Oxford, we are not
justified in referring the cause of it to a *recorded* siege by William
the Conqueror.

The truth is, we are left very much in the dark as to what were
the consequences of the Norman Conquest to Oxford. After the
battle of Senlac, William marched as far as Wallingford ; but at
this point, instead of going higher up the Thames, he returned to
London by Berkhampstead.

There is no doubt, however, but that Oxford was given to the
charge of Robert d'Oili, who came over with the Conqueror. He
had practically the governorship of the district, a position very
valuable from a military point of view. Oxford had, as we have
seen, a great name, from the political importance of the events
which had taken place here : from a civil point of view, I doubt
if the town was of great importance, either on account of the
number of its inhabitants, or from their wealth, but consideration
of these points will come best under a brief description of the
" Survey."

A.D. 1071. *Robert D'Oili builds the Castle at Oxford.*

As already said, I have to take leave of the authorities from which
I have derived my information up to the present time, and to de-
pend upon others. In truth, Oxford, during the remainder of the
period of which I have to treat, was not the scene of any political
event ; the historians, therefore, take no further notice of the place.

[k] General Introduction to the Domesday Survey, p. lxii.

I have consequently to look about for incidental mention of the place among the Abbey annals and Registers, and, unfortunately, I am limited to a very few of them.

The first to which I have to refer is the collection of events recorded in the ANNALS OF OSENEY.

"MLXXI. The same year was built (ædificatum est) the Castle of Oxford, by Robert d'Oili the first[1]."

The abbey in which these Annals were kept was not founded till 1129, but then the founder was Robert d'Oili, the nephew of the great Robert d'Oili, the builder of the castle. It is natural, therefore, that the deeds of the uncle should be recorded in the Annals of the abbey[m].

But the question which suggests itself here is the force of the word "built." I am satisfied it does not necessarily exclude there being a castle here before; nor, on the other hand, does it necessarily imply that he erected a castle such as is usually conceived by the word, namely, a keep, with stone walls and stone towers surrounding it. I am convinced we must take a middle course. We were not indebted to him wholly for the castle, nor did he make what he found into the castle, of which we have the details and description in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. The great mound, I contend, was there already; this is not of the character of the work of the Normans at this period; but no doubt he deepened the ditches, perhaps enlarged the enceinte, and added possibly new palisades, &c. But the main work, which has struck so much the chronicler, and has given him the word "built," was the great *tower*, and that *built of stone*. Whether or not the means of attack had improved during the past one hundred and fifty years, there is no doubt that a lofty tower had great advantages over the mound as a means of defence. It was less easily assailed, the

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[1] In the Abingdon Abbey Chronicle, already referred to, there is this paragraph, speaking of the advent of the Conqueror : "Then Castles were built for the preservation of the kingdom, at *Wallingford* (Walingaforde), and *Oxford* (Oxeneforde), and *Windsor* (Wildesore), and at other places." Chron. Monast. de Abingdon, vol. ii. p. 3.

[m] Annales Monastici, edidit H. R. Luard. London, 1869, vol. iv. p. 9. The MS. which we possess (Cotton, Tiberius A. 9) is written in the same handwriting down to the year 1233, and then continued by different hands. Although this is the date of the MS., there is no doubt but that generally speaking the events have been recorded from year to year.

defenders could more safely reach the summit, and when there they had a much better position against the assailants below than from the sloping sides of a mound.

It seems to me impossible to conceive that the two were the work of the same age, or part of the same system of fortification, and if so, there is no doubt the mound was the earliest. I have already given the grounds for believing that this mound was of the early part of the tenth century, from its similarity to those of Warwick, Tamworth, &c., which was part of one system of fortification then adopted. I think the circumstances, combined with the architectural evidence, leave little or no doubt but that the tall tower which we still see was the work of Robert d'Oili referred to in the Chronicle.

A.D. 1074. *The Church of St. George founded in the Castle.*

In the same Annals we find under this year the following :—

"MLXXIV. The Church of S. George was founded in Oxford Castle (fundata est in Castello Oxenfordensi) by Robert d'Oili the first and Roger de Ivry."

I should mention here that there are two Chronicles, one of which may be said generally to be a copy of the other, but in parts they differ entirely. The second one was the work of a certain Thomas Wykes [n], an inmate of the abbey, but it appears that while up to a certain point, he copied the Oseney Chronicle, (or possibly the transcript of the same Chronicle was made by another monk, at the same time that he made his,) afterwards the two Chronicles go on side by side, often taking different views politically of the same question, but both written probably in the same building. As far as this passage is concerned, it is simply an abridgment by Wykes of the original of the Abbey Chronicle.

"MLXXIV. The Church of S. George was founded in the Castle of Oxford (in Castro Oxoniæ)."

It is impossible to say what was the plan or extent of this church of St. George, although there is no doubt as to the site. The tall tower of D'Oili's served at once for his church and for a part of the fortifications of his castle. A small crypt only

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[n] The MS. of Wykes' Chronicle is also in the Cotton collection, and marked Titus A. 14. It is of the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century. Wykes, an inmate of the monastery, compiled his Chronicle probably about 1270, making use of the copy of the Oseney Annals, which we possess only in part.

remains, almost in its position; I say almost, because some improvements in the modern buildings of the castle involved pulling down the structure. The stones were, however, carefully preserved, and we have the evidence of the builder to shew that the plan was followed as closely as possible. The workmanship is of a better character than the tower, and I am of opinion that it is of Henry the First's reign, at least, fifty years later than the original structure ; probably the church was rebuilt after the foundation of Oseney Abbey, in 1129, to which it was then annexed [o].

A.D. 1074 (?). *The Church of St. Mary Magdalen given to the Canons of St. George's Church.*

Probably at the foundation, or soon after, Robert D'Oili endowed his collegiate church with land in Walton, and the church of St. Mary Magdalen. This is the deed of gift :—

" Be it known to all the faithful of Holy Church that I Robertus ' de Olleyo,' with the consent of Alditha my wife, and of my brothers Nigel and Gilbert, have given and granted to God and the Church of S. George in the Castle of Oxford, and to the Canons serving God there, which church, &c.,—everything belonging thereto, tenements, tenths, and the property herein named, namely *the Church of S. Mary Magdalen*, which is situated in the suburbs of Oxford, together with three hides of land in Walton [p]," &c.

In a somewhat later charter, the names of several of the properties are given, and they are chiefly in Oxfordshire. There is a deed also given from Roger d'Ivry, confirming all the gifts made, so far as he directly had any claim upon the lands. These deeds, copies of which were preserved in the Registers, were no doubt the sources whence the annalist derived his statement that Robert D'Oili and Roger d'Ivry founded the church of St. George.

A gift appears as confirmed by Robert D'Oili's nephew some years after. It runs thus [q] :—

" Know all people that I Robert ' de Olleyo' have granted, and by this my present Charter have confirmed, to God and to the Church of S. George in the Castle

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[o] The absolute annexation of St. George's Church to the Abbey did not take place, it is supposed, till 1149. The workmanship would suit equally the time of Stephen as of Henry I.

[p] Kennett (Par. Ant., vol. i. p. 81) gives the transcript of this as from the Oseney Registers. I see that it is confirmed in substance by other and later deeds, and I believe that there is no reason to doubt that it is genuine.

[q] This I have taken from Dugdale, who gives it as the copy of a record preserved in the Treasury of S. John's College in Oxford.

of Oxford, and to the Canons of the said Church and their successors, the gift
which Thomas le Den made to them, of a certain croft in the suburbs of Oxford
which is called *Dene's-Croft*, of my own fee, and yielding thence to me and to my
heirs six shillings a-year in all.

"In addition to this I have granted, and by this my Charter have confirmed, to
the said Church and Canons and their successors the gift which Brownman
(Brunmannus) of Walton made to them of one carucate of land and a mesuage
and twenty-four acres of meadow land, which he held of me in Walton, and twenty
acres of land, with a certain pasture, with its appurtenances, which he held of me
in the suburbs of Oxford on his own service, to be had and held by the aforesaid
Church and Canons in free, pure, and perpetual alms, as the Charter of the afore-
said Brunman which he made to the said Church and Canons more fully testi-
fies [r].   And that this my grant and confirmation may be lasting and for ever, I
have to this writing set my seal.

"These being Witnesses,

> Fulco de Olleyo
> Galfridus Archar
> Roger de Amari
> Eadward the Priest
> Walter the Archdeacon
> Eager, of Oxford
> Robert, of the same
> And others."

This fresh gift and confirmation of the previous gift is of a date
after 1119, when Robert d'Oili, the nephew, succeeded to his
father's property.   It will be observed that it is signed by Walter,
Archdeacon of Oxford, before referred to.

The original gift, however, of the Church of S. Mary Mag-
dalen was made long before, probably, as has been said, as
part of the endowment of the collegiate church of S. George.
This is the second parish church of which we have as yet found
mention.

c. A.D. 1080. *Robert D'Oili restores the Churches and builds the North Bridge.*

In the Abingdon Abbey Chronicle, to which reference has already
been made, we find Robert D'Oili several times mentioned.   It

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[r] I notice that Wood refers to this second gift, and he implies that a copy of
the Charter in question is preserved amongst the Oseney Registers in the
Treasury at Christ Church.   He mentions it as containing a clause that the gift
was made to them "contra Judæos."

seems that at first he bore a bad character in the eyes of the Annalist, but afterwards a good one. Here is an extract [s] :—

" In his time (i.e. of Abbot Athelhelm [t]) and in the time of the two kings, that is to say of William who had conquered the English, and of his son William, there was a certain ' Constabularius [u] ' of Oxford called Robert ' de Oili,' in whose charge at that time was placed that district. . . . Now he was very wealthy, and spared neither rich nor poor in exacting money from them, to increase his own treasure. As is said of such in the short verse,—

<div style="text-align:center">

Crescit amor nummi quantum pecunia crescit.
As grows of wealth the store, so grows desire for more.

</div>

Everywhere he molested the churches, in his desire for gaining money, chiefly the Abbey of Abingdon, such as taking away their possessions and continually annoying them with law-suits, and sometimes putting them at the King's mercy. Amongst other wicked things he took away from the Monastery, by the King's consent, a certain meadow [x] situated *outside the Walls of Oxford*, and appropriated it for the use of the soldiers of the Castle. At which loss the Abingdon brother-hood were very sad, more than for any other ills. Then they all came together before S. Mary's altar, which had been dedicated by S. Dunstan the Archbishop, and S. Athelwald Bishop, and while prostrating themselves before it prayed heaven to avenge them on Robert d' Oili, the plunderer of the Monastery, or to lead him to make satisfaction. Meanwhile, whilst they were supplicating the Blessed Virgin day and night, Robert fell into a grievous sickness, under which he, being impenitent, suffered for many days."

While he was ill, he had a dream in which he was ordered to be taken into the stolen Meadow, and tortured there. In his agony he awoke, and on his narrating his dream to his wife, she urged him to go to Abingdon, " whither he caused himself to be *rowed* [y]," and there before the altar he made satisfaction.

[s] Chron. Monast. de Abingdon, vol. ii. p. 12.

[t] Abbot 1071—1084.

[u] He is first mentioned as " prædives Castelli urbis Oxenefordensis *Oppidanus,*" vol. ii. p. 7.

[x] This is " King's Mead." The meadow is marked on some maps as lying to the west of Great Sconce Mead, and both to the south of the Oseney meads, and, I believe, known by the name of King's Mead to this day.

[y] " Ad Abbendoniam eum navigari fecit." The circumstance of his going by water does not shew that there were no roads. Whether or not the south bridge was sufficiently large for vehicles to pass, and so give access to Abingdon by the main road, may be a question. But if not, there was still another way, namely by the road branching off from the old coach road (which ran south of the present one) a little past Botley, and which probably crossed in the hollow between Chawley and Cumnor Hurst, via Childsworth Farm and Bayworth. At the same time the chief traffic between Oxford and Abingdon was no doubt by water, and there were disputes as to the tolls. (See s. a. 1012, Chron. Monast. de Abingdon, vol. i. p. 481 ; and again, vol. ii. p. 119.)

The Annalist continues :—

"But not only did he do so much towards the building of the Church of S. Mary at Abingdon, but he also repaired at his own cost other Parish Churches which were in a ruinous state(?), that is to say, both *within the Walls of Oxford* and without (alias parochianas ecclesias dirutas, videlicet infra muros Oxenefordiæ, et extra).

"For, whereas before his dream he was the plunderer of Churches, and of the poor, so afterwards he became the restorer of Churches, and a benefactor to the poor, and the doer of many good deeds. Amongst other things the great bridge on the northern side (ad septentrionalem plagam[z]) of Oxford was built by him. He died in the month of September[a], and was honourably buried within the chapter-house of Abingdon (in capitulo Abendonensi) on the north side. The body of his wife lies buried on his left side."

We have already met with an instance of the close connection between Abingdon Abbey and Oxford, in the city church of S. Martin being given to that foundation instead of to S. Frideswide ; and as the " King's Mead," which D'Oili was accused of taking away from the Abbey, lay on the Berkshire side of the river, there is no great singularity in it belonging to Abingdon[b].

There can be no doubt but that the bridge which is still called High or Hythe Bridge is the one meant in the record. There is no work of D'Oili's time, at least visible, but the same site has been no doubt retained, and probably part of the original foundations beneath the water have been preserved.

A bridge also must have been built by him leading into the Castle on the west side over the stream, and close by his lofty tower. It is of course impossible to determine the exact site, but in all probability the bridge which now exists is on the same[c].

Besides this, we read he restored the parish churches. At present we have only had evidence of the existence of two, namely, those of S. Martin and S. Mary Magdalen ; but here the churches are spoken of as if they were many, and as if they were in a ruinous state ; yet whether from decay by lapse of time, or from having been destroyed, is not absolutely clear.

[z] The word "*plagam*" is used from the circumstance that Oxford on its three sides and a part of its fourth was surrounded by water, which was its chief protection.

[a] The year is not given, nor can I find any evidence by which to determine it.

[b] There is a further reference to this dispute respecting King's Mead in the Abingdon Abbey Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 25.

[c] That there was a bridge also of some kind at the southern end of the town, near to or actually on the site of Folly Bridge, is almost certain from one or two references to it in Henry the First's reign as a well-known bridge.

circa A.D. 1086. *The Domesday Survey of Oxford.*

In some respects the Survey of Oxford appears more complete than that of most other cities and towns in Domesday Book, but it presents at the same time great difficulties. The record is well known, and as there is only one MS.[d] to which reference has to be made, it is not necessary to give any details of its history. I therefore transcribe at once the part relating to Oxford. The whole is here given in substance, but for the sake of tabulating the statistics the form of the original is not strictly followed.

IN THE TIME OF King Edward Oxford paid for toll and gable and all other customs yearly *to the King* £20 and six sextaries of honey, but to Earl Algar £10 in addition to the mill which he had within the city.

When the King went on an expedition 20 burgesses went with him for all the others, or they gave £20 to the King that all might be free.

NOW Oxford pays £60
by tale of twenty (pence) in the *ora*.

In the town, as well within the wall as without, there are
243 houses paying tax. Besides these
there are 478[e] so waste and destroyed that they cannot pay tax.

					s.	*d.*
THE KING has 20 mansions which were Earl Algar's, T.R.E.[f]				*paying* 13	10
,,	,,	1	,,	belonging to Shipton	0	6
,,	,,	1	,,	belonging to Bloxham	0	4
,,	,,	1	,,	belonging to Risborough	2	6
,,	,,	2	,,	belonging to Twyford	0	4
				(1 of these is waste.)		

Wherefore these are called mural mansions, because if there shall be need, and the King command it, they shall repair the walls.

To the lands which Earl Alberic held, belong 1 church and 3 mansions,
2 lie to the Church of St. Mary 2 4
1 lies to Burford 5 0

To the lands which Earl W. held 9 mansions 7 0
(of these 3 are waste)

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[d] This MS., too, has been reproduced by Photo-zincography, and therefore is accessible to every one.

[e] In the original, Five hundred houses save twenty-two.

[f] In the "Time of King Edward" the Confessor.

							s.	d.
The Abp. of Canterbury has	7 mansions		4 are waste		(3)	pay	3	?
Bp. of Winchester has	9	,,	3	,,	(6)	,,	5	2
Bp. of Bayeux has	18	,,	4	,,	(14)	,,	13	4
Bp. of Lincoln has	30	,,	16	,,	(14)	,,	18	6
Bp. of Coutance has	2	,,		,,		,,	1	2
Bp. of Hereford has	3	,,	1	,,	(2)	,,	1	1
Abbot of St. Edmund's	1	,,	belonging to Tainton			,,	0	6
Abbot of Abingdon has	14	,,	8	,,	(6)	,,	7	3
Abbot of Ensham has and 1 church	13	,,	7	,,	(6)	,,	9	0
Earl of Moreton has	10	,,	9	,,	(1)	,,	3	0
Earl Hugh has	7	,,	4	,,	(3)	,,	5	8
Earl of Evreux has	1	,,	1	,,		,,	0	0
Henry de Ferieres has	2	,,		,,		,,	5	0
William Pevrel has	4	,,	2	,,	(2)	,,	1	5
Edward the Sheriff	2	,,		,,		,,	5	0
Ernulf de Hesding	3	,,	1	,,	(2)	,,	1	6
Berenger de Todeni	1	,,		,,		,,	0	6
Milo Crispin	2	,,		,,		,,	1	0
Richard de Curci	2	,,		,,		,,	1	7
Robert de Oilgi g	12	,,	4	,,	(8)	,,	5	4
Roger de Ivri	15	,,	6	,,	(9)	,,	20	4
Rannulf Flammard	1	,,		,,		,,	0	0
Wido de Reinbodcurth	?	,,		,,		,,	1	8
Walter Gifard h	17	,,	7	,,	(10)	,,	22	0
Jeruio has	1	,,	belonging to Hampton			,,	0	6
The son of Manasse	1	,,	to Bletchington			,,	0	4

All these above written hold their mansions free because they repair the wall i.

Priests of St. Michael's have	2	,,		,,		,,	4	4
Canons of St. Frideswide k	15	,,	8	,,	(7)	,,	11	0
Coleman had l	3	,,		,,		,,	3	8
William has	1	,,		,,		,,	1	8
Spracheling	1	,,		,,		,,	0	0
Wluui the Fisherman	1	,,		,,		,,	2	8
Alwin has	5	,,	3	,,	(2)	,,	3	1
Edric	1	,,		,,		,,	0	0
Harding and Leveva	9	,	4	,,	(5)	,,	12	0

g It will be found that Robert D'Oili held other property in Oxford, as will be seen in the county return under his own name.

h It is added that "The predecesssor of Walter had one, the gift of K. Edward, out of 8 virgates which paid customary payments in K. Edward's time."

i The Survey inserts here this paragraph : "All the mansions which are called mural were in King Edward's time free from all customary payment except for expedition and repairing the wall."

k The Canons of St. Frideswide make a return of their property in Oxford further on in the Survey.

l it is added, "whilst he lived."

				s.	d.
Ailric	1	mansion	paying	0	0
Dereman	1	,,	,,	1	0
Segrim	1	,,	,,	1	4
Another Segrim	1	,,	,,	2	0
Smewin	1	,,	,,	0	0
Goldwin	1	,,	,,	0	0
Eddid	1	,,	,,	0	0
Swetman	1	,,	,,	0	8
Sewi	1	,,	,,	0	0
Leveva	1 [m]	,,	,,	0	0
Alveva	1	,,	,,	0	10
Alward	1	,,	,,	0	10
Alwin	1	,, waste	,,	0	0
Brietred and Derman	1	,,	,,	1	4
Alwin	1	,,	,,	0	0
Derewen	1	,,	,,	0	6
Alunin the Priest	1	,, waste	,,	0	0
Leurie	1	,,	,,	0	0
Wlurie	1	,, waste [n]	,,	0	0
Swetman the Moneyer	1	free house	,,	3	4
Godwin	1	mansion	,,	0	0
Ulmar	1	,,	,,	0	0
Goderun	1	,,	,,	0	0
Godric	1	,,	,,	0	0
Alwi	1	,,	,,	0	0
Swetman	2	mural mansions	,,	3	0
Another Swetman	1	free mansion [o]	,,	0	9

Sawold has	9 mansions	6 are waste	(3) pay	13	0
Lodowin	1 house [p]	,,	,,	0	0
Segrim	3 free houses 1	,,	(2) ,,	5	4
Alwin	1 free house [q]	,,	,,	2	8

All the burgesses of Oxford have common of pasture without the wall, which pays 6 shillings and 8*d*.

After this follows the list of the "holders of Land in Oxfordshire."

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[m] It is added, "Paid in King Edward's time 10*d*."

[n] It is added, "And yet if there be need he shall repair the wall."

[o] It is added, "On account of the same service," i.e. repairing the wall.

[p] It is added, "In which he resides free, on account of repairing the wall."

[q] It is added, "for repairing the wall, and if, when there is need, the wall is not repaired by him, who ought to do it, either he shall forfeit forty shillings to the King or he shall lose his house."

There are many questions of interest suggested by this extract from the Survey. It will be seen that after the mention of the King's property, twenty-four names occur of the Conqueror's fol-lowers and supporters, on whom the confiscated property in Oxford had been bestowed. They possess from one to as many as thirty mansions each. The Earl of Evreux has only one, and that one waste, and so yielding nothing. The Bishop of Lincoln has the most, namely thirty mansions, of which sixteen are waste, and the remaining fourteen pay eighteen shillings and sixpence ; but from the ten mansions held by Walter Gifard the greatest payment is made, namely twenty-two shillings. The chief property appears thus to have been divided : — The King seems to hold 37 man-sions in all, of which 17 are appropriated to special purposes, and of these 4 are waste. The Archbishop of Canterbury and five bishops have 69 mansions, of which 28 are waste. The three abbeys, 28 mansions, of which 15 are waste. While the seventeen remaining owners, who appear to be all followers of the Conqueror, possess 83 mansions, of which 34 are waste.

We then have a list of those citizens (including the Priests of S. Michael's and the Canons of S. Frideswide) who appear to have retained their property in Oxford. These forty holders held amongst them 80 mansions and free-houses, of which 25 appear to be waste, and two or three more paying nothing. When we put all these together, we find that we have accounted for 297 mansions (of which 106 are waste).

It will be observed that throughout I have retained the word " mansion" instead of " house," and my reason is this : at the head of the extract the entry is, " In the town as well within as without the wall there are 243 *houses* (domi) paying tax, and 478 waste." Elsewhere throughout the statistics the word " mansio" is used, and not " domus." I am not prepared to discuss the differences between the two [r]; the only point, however, I would suggest for considera-

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[r] In some cases in the Survey, it would appear that the word *mansio* was used as synonymous with *manerium*. Sir Henry Ellis observes, that " in a few entries of the Survey mansiones seem to imply houses simply." Kelham says that *mansio* and *domus* seem to be distinguished, but wherein the difference consisted is not easy to say. In a passage quoted from Bracton on the dis-tinction of the *mansio* from the *villa* and that from the *manerium* (lib. v. cap. 28) the following expression occurs — " *Mansio* autem esse poterit constructa

tion, is whether these 297 mansions are to be understood as in addition to the 721 houses, or as already enumerated in that number. In the former case, it would bring the total of once habitable buildings in Oxford to more than one thousand, although at the time of the Survey more than half were " waste."

The Population of Oxford.

The question which more prominently suggests itself here is, What was the population of Oxford at this time ? It is a great misfortune that the Survey is so silent upon this point as regards the towns, and it therefore can only be answered approximately.

We see that at the time of the Survey only 191 mansions and 243 houses were habitable, or at least were considered sufficiently so to warrant their being taxed.

In considering the population represented by the mansions, I make no doubt but that, differently from our own custom, the domestic servants lived in dwellings apart from those occupied by the lord and his family. It is true that the greater part of the mansions must have been let to others, and that the owners, having their ordinary residences elsewhere, probably seldom came to Oxford except

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ex pluribus domibus, vel una quæ erit habitatis una et sola sine vicino," &c. It appears to me that for all practical purposes, we may consider *mansio* in the country to mean properly the house in which the owner of the land surrounding it resided with his family. The *domi* would be the cottages built for his household servants (which down to late in the Middle Ages, were usually detached from the lord's house), and for the *villani*, &c., or men with their families belonging to the " villa," whose duty it was chiefly to till the soil. In the town, however, the *mansio* would probably have a court and garden, with smaller buildings round it, either occupied by the owner's servants, or let to persons engaged in trade, and these buildings would be the *domi*. Possibly separated, as far as the actual buildings were concerned, from the owner's house, they still, in both town and country, belonged to the estate. Something of a similar kind appears to be the distinction in the buildings of Imperial Rome. There the word *domus* seems to me to be the equivalent of the *mansio* here, and the word *insulæ* used for what may be compared with the 721 *domi* in Oxford. Only, in Rome, space being of so much more importance, the series of *insulæ*, sometimes used as dwellings, sometimes as shops, sometimes as both, were built round and attached to, though having no communication with, the *domus*, just as the shops are built round Her Majesty's Theatre or the Royal Exchange in London. The point I feel doubtful on, is whether all these 721 *domi* in Oxford were dependent upon the 273 "man-ions," or whether any had a separate holding, and if so in what proportion.

when business, either personal or political, called them hither. Still, taking all this into account, if we give an average of five persons to each mansion, I think we shall be over rather than under the mark. This gives for the mansions a population of about 950. For the *domi* it is more difficult to fix upon a figure, because I believe many were very small, and were used for servants, and so sometimes occupied by only one or two persons, and not as a rule by families. Possibly, however, some of those returned as *waste* could in case of need be used, and I would therefore suggest three as rather an excessive number, giving as a population occupying this class of dwellings rather under 750 souls. In other words, that the total population of Oxford was at the time of the Survey not more than 1700.

This estimate of the population of Oxford seems small when compared with our present numbers, which by the new census, now in course of being calculated from the returns, will no doubt be over 30,000. But it must be remembered that fifty years ago the number was only 16,300, and seventy years, only 11,700. The record of the present century stands thus :—

1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861
11,694	12,931	16,364	20,649	24,258	27,843	27,560 [s].

A map which I possess, dated 1789, states that the population then (exclusive of those in colleges) was 8,292, occupying 1,814 houses [t], or about $4\frac{3}{5}$ per house. An examination of the map seems to shew but little difference in the dense appearance of the houses within the *enceinte* of the city from the present aspect, but the increase in the number of houses has taken place in the four suburbs, St. Giles', St. Clement's, St. Aldate's, and St. Thomas'.

On the same map, the statistics are given of the number of houses and the population, arranged according to chief streets. In order to get at the approximation of what were within the wall and what without, I have separated the totals of the houses into the two

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[s] The apparent decrease in the last decennial return, I believe, arises from the circumstance that 1851 was taken during full term, and 1861 when but few of the colleges had met. A few days later would have made a great difference.

[t] It is so given in the Summary, but the returns of the streets, when added up, give 1,816 houses, and 8,392 population.

classes, computing the proportions with the map before me. The table stands thus :—

Names of the chief Streets.	Houses computed		Returns 178`.	
	Within the wall.	Without the wall.	Total houses.	Total inhabitants.
Brewers and Beef Lanes	10	6	16	80
Broad Street and New College Lane	5	100	105	516
Butcher Row and Castle Street	120	...	120	586
Titmouse and Bullwark Lane .	6	34	40	205
George Lane .	...	87	87	298
Bridge Street and Fish Street .	80	50	130	719
High and Bridge Street	278	20	298	1,438
Hollowell Street	...	113	113	585
Lincoln, Jesus, Exeter, and Ship Lanes	56	...	56	204
King's Street, &c.	81	...	81	362
New Inn Hall Lane and Street	43	...	43	192
Penny Farthing and St. Ebbe's Street .	88	...	88	319
South Street, &c.	18	5	23	201
St. Clement's .	...	73	73	376
St. Giles' Street	...	195	195	855
Corn Market .	71	...	71	324
St. Peter's Street (?)	31	...	31	150
St. Thomas	...	168	168	604
Worcester College Lanes	...	21	21	121
West Gate to High Bridge	...	44	44	192
Back buildings	13	...	13	65
Totals	900	916	1,816	8,392

On dividing the number of the inhabitants in the same proportion as the houses, we obtain a population of 4,159 within the city, against that of 4,232 without the ancient boundary, at this period ".

" The population, as returned in 1861 as 27,560 persons, occupying 5,234 houses, is that of the borough, and includes districts far beyond the city proper. From the total the following deductions should be made :—

	Houses.	Population.
Outlying districts in the parishes of Binsey, Cowley, Headington, North Hinksey, and Wolvercot .	215	1,066
Parishes of St. Clement, Holywell, St. Giles, St. Mary Magdalen, and St. Thomas, wholly without the city .	2,860	14,844
Parts of the parishes of St. Aldate, St. Ebbe, St. Michael, St. Peter-le-Bailey, *computed as* without the wall	1,203	6,016
Five Colleges without the wall .	5	108
	4,283	22,034

There remains on the other hand :—

	Houses.	Population.
Parishes of All Saints, St. John, St. Martin, St. Mary-the-Virgin, and St. Peter-in-the-East, wholly within the old wall of *enceinte* .	388	2,265
Parts of the Parishes of St. Aldate, St. Ebbe, St. Michael, St. Peter-le-Bailey, *computed as* within the wall .	544	2,728
Nineteen Colleges and Halls within the line of the wall (or chiefly so) .	19	533
	951	5,526

It will be seen by the above table that, after all, the number of houses within the

On comparing with the map from which these data are taken that of Loggan, made a little more than a century previously (1673), we find to all appearance the number of houses still further reduced. It is not easy to count the houses, nor perhaps could the accuracy of the map be depended upon sufficiently in this respect ; but on the whole, a comparison points to little more than 600 being the number of houses within the city walls. If, however, we go back to Agas' map of 1578, we shall find it difficult to count 400 houses with'n the city wall, there having been a considerable increase in the intervening hundred years. Taking all the circumstances into account, it appears to me that the argument to be derived from the present population of Oxford in no way refutes the view that it may have been at the time of the Survey about 1,700.

The " Waste" Mansions.

According to the data given of the *waste* mansions, it would seem that before the Conquest the population may have been upwards of 3,000. On these waste houses a few remarks should be made. I have already [2] pointed out that if the empty houses are due to a siege, it is to an unrecorded one, and as it is somewhat improbable that such a siege, if it had taken place, would have found a record in no one of the historians' narratives, it seems to me more reasonable to seek elsewhere for a solution.

If the Survey enumerates the whole of the mansions (and there is no reason which I can see to doubt it) we find that out of a total of 297 mansions, 217 (or more than two-thirds) had been transferred to Norman holders, leaving only 80 in the hands of the original possessors. It appears to me that this must have been the result of simple confiscation ; and as we see that in many cases several mansions had been transferred to one single Norman holder, it is more than probable that the original and rightful owners departed elsewhere, and with them their dependants, and that in a few years the houses (mostly being of wood), from want of tenants to look after them and repair them, would naturally fall to decay. The roofs, for instance, were probably for the most part of thatch, requiring con-

enceinte of the wall of Oxford (namely 951), with their population of 5,526, bears a very small proportion to the large districts which have grown up without the walls, and which make up the total houses 5,234, with a population of 27,560.

stant repair; very few years of neglect would therefore cause decay, and consequent ruin of the houses.

Oxford is not the only town mentioned with decayed houses. Indeed most towns have some enumerated. There were many waste houses, for instance, at Lincoln at the time of the Survey, and in this case the commissioners record for our information the cause of the decay. They say—

"Of the aforesaid mansions which were 'hospitatæ' there are now . . . 240 waste. . . . Of the aforesaid mansions which are waste, 166 were destroyed on account of (building) the castle. The remaining 74 rendered waste, are without the bounds of the castle, and are so, not because of the oppression of the King's Sheriffs and Servants, but because of misfortune and poverty, and ravage by fire (propter infortunium paupertatem et ignis exustionem)."

It is more than probable that a great many houses of some sort were destroyed in enlarging the castle of Oxford, though not so many as at Lincoln perhaps, from the circumstance of the castle here being outside the town, and, as already pointed out, from the building of the Castle by D'Oili being rather a rebuilding and enlarging a castle which previously existed. But the other elements which we see at work at Lincoln may well have created in Oxford, in a far greater degree, the devastation which is recorded ʸ. It is important to bear in mind the constant ravages of fire on wooden and thatched houses, and unless there was a numerous and prosperous population constantly repairing such, in a short time the effects would be very serious, and if the view be a correct one of the Conqueror's treatment of Oxford as regards the confiscation of property, the "infortunium et paupertas" of the inhabitants must have been very great. We do not know also how far Oxford espoused Harold's cause, and how many she sent of her citizens beyond the twenty she was bound to supply, to the battle-field, from which they never returned. In a word, it seems to me we are

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ʸ The Lincoln Return appears to make no difference between the *mansiones* and *domi*, although this is evidently the case in the Oxford Return. The total of the city of Lincoln is at once given as "970 *mansiones hospitatæ*," that number being according to the English computation, when 100 are reckoned for 120 (in other words, there were by actual counting 1164). The reference by the commissioners to the English computation seems to shew that they took their numbers from the city books, and hence throughout the Domesday Survey "Tempore Regis Edwardi" constantly occurs, implying a reference to an existing survey, on which the new survey was based.

not necessarily to seek for the decay and loss of houses from any one particular event or cause, but rather to look for it in the general circumstances of the time, as affecting the prosperity of this important city [z].

The Mural Mansions.

It will be observed also that certain mansions are exempted from taxation " on account of their being compelled to repair the walls." Those belonging to the King, it appears, are all free of tax on this account. At first sight, it would appear certain that Oxford was surrounded by a " wall," but there are reasons on the other hand, to which reference has already been made, to suppose that the fortifications were mainly of earth and wood, and not of *stone*, which the word " wall [a]," in its ordinary acceptance, implies. It would be too much to say that no stone was probably in any case used, be cause embankments of earth are often kept up, and present a much

[z] I think it follows, from what is said in the previous note, that *vastæ* does not mean literally that all the houses so returned were standing in ruins, but that the number of houses had decreased since the return in King Edward's time ; in other words, that the houses in ruins, &c., and those which had disappeared alto gether, were classed in one category. At Lincoln, for instance, the site of 166 houses returned as *vastæ* had been occupied, we are told, by the castle, and the word therefore could not mean here ruinous buildings, unless indeed, just when the Survey was being taken, these houses were one and all in the process of demolition, which is on many grounds improbable. So in Oxford it appears to me that the return of so many *vastæ* includes, besides the ruinous condition of many standing, a large number which had been swept away altogether, either by the will of the new impropriators, or by the original owners, when, not finding tenants, they destroyed them to save the expense of repairs.

[a] The word *murus* no doubt, as a rule, signified a stone wall, and the fortifica tions of the Roman towns, to which it was originally applied, were nearly always of stone or similar material. But as appears by representations, e.g. on Trajan's column, the Romans adopted wooden brattishes and palisading in addition to the stone fortifications, and this practice continued throughout the Middle Ages ; so that the word *murus*, adopted from the Romans, may well have included the structure as a whole, and been applied when the palisades were the chief means of defence. Terentius Varro (who perhaps is rather given to collecting rare uses of words as well as curious derivations) has this passage in his Treatise *de Re Rustica* (lib. i. c. 14), " Ad Viam Salariam, in agro Crustumino, videre licet locis aliquot conjunctos aggeres eum fossis, ne flumen agris noceant, *aggeres* qui faciunt (sic) *sine fossâ*, eos quidem vocant *muros*, ut in agro Reatino." This of course only relates to the " dykes," as we term them, such as we see in fen districts, but it shews that the word did not, even with the Romans, necessarily imply the existence of stone. In the Bayeux tapestry, one or two representa tions of the siege of fortified towns shew the wooden palisading and the mode of attack by fire.

more formidable front to the enemy if stones are used in facing the outer side ; but it is almost certain that it was not the custom of the Anglo-Saxons to build stone walls so extensively as would warrant us in supposing they adopted them for the fortification of a great city. If, on the other hand, Robert D'Oili, on his appointment to the governorship of the town, had " walled" it in the usual sense, it is very improbable that in Henry the Third's time (as can be shewn by the money expended) the whole work had to be done over again. Besides which, it is clearly implied by the account of the siege in Stephen's reign, that ditches and water were the chief means of defence, and fire the chief mode of attack. The mural houses were therefore those which had to keep the fortifications generally in an efficient state ; and this consisted mostly of keeping up and clearing the vallum and trench, especially the latter, when it was a ditch into which the water flowed ; and as the position of Oxford was admirably situated in respect of water, this was usually the case. They had also to repair the wooden *brattishes* and palisades with which the vallum was surmounted.

Here, however, arises the question, What was the extent of this wall ? in other words, did the mediæval wall, of which we possess sufficient remains to be certain as to its course on the three sides of the town (the castle occupying the narrowed western side), follow the line of the original *enceinte ?* The answer is, that in the absence of any traces of another line of fortifications, and from the natural course of things, it did so ; and that to all intents and purposes the area enclosed in Henry the Third's reign was the same as that in William the Conqueror's reign.

That the wall was built absolutely on the site of the vallum is perhaps saying too much ; indeed it would be improbable that it should be so, as they would scarcely destroy the old fortifications till the new ones were nearly ready, and so they may have built the wall just within or just without the older line, as circumstances dictated.

In Exeter College, when they dug the foundations for the Rector's house some few years ago, the remains of what appeared to be an ancient ditch was reached *just within the line of the city wall*[b],

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[b] I did not see this myself, but the site has been kindly pointed out to me by the Rector of Exeter College, to whom I am indebted wholly for the knowledge of the circumstance.

which is here visible from the court at the back of the Ashmolean
Museum, although it has been refaced with modern ashlar, probably
at the time when the Ashmolean building was erected. The pecu-
liarity to be specially noted is that considerable remains of wood,
especially osiers, were found in the black mud at the bottom, such
as might well have been thrown in when the ditch was filled up and
the vallum destroyed, the new wall having been erected *on the out-
side of the old ditch*.

SOUTH.
Inside the City.

NORTH.
Outside the City.

RECTOR OF EXETER'S
HOUSE.

ASHMOLEAN
MUSEUM.

Present surface.

Natural surface.

City ditch, *temp.*
Wm. 1.

City ditch,
temp.
Hen. III.
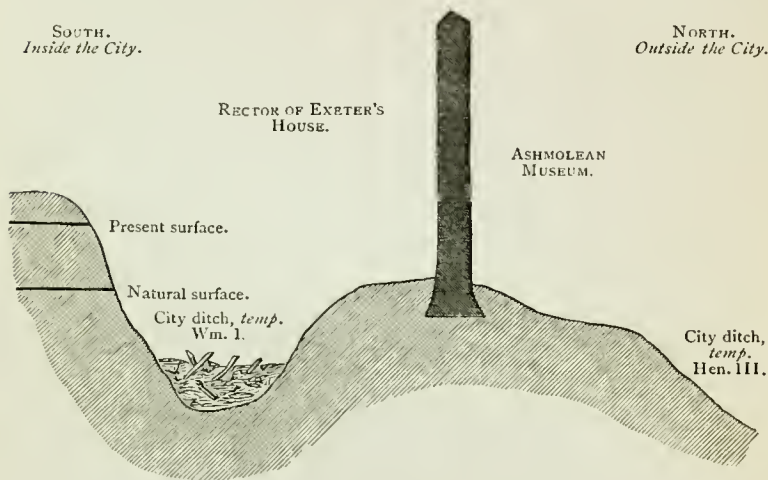
Probable Section of the City Fortifications at the back of the Ashmolean Museum.

Also I am told, that in the alteration of some houses in George-
lane (some twenty houses westward from the Cornmarket, and on
the south side of the street) traces of a ditch were met with. This
may have been the mediæval ditch, but more probably the original
ditch, as it was some distance away from the wall; if so, there would
have been room for the existence of a vallum between it and the
new wall, had they built this new wall *on the inside of the old vallum*.

It is dangerous arguing from such phenomena, especially when
the excavations have not been extensive, but they are worth noting,
in case future excavations should corroborate the evidence to be
derived from them. In all probability the streams on the southern
side of the city formed a natural line of defence, and the fortifica-
tions were therefore not of the same importance as those on the
north side, where there was the chief danger from attack.

Further references to Oxford in the Domesday Survey.

There are two references elsewhere in the Survey to possessions in Oxford. Under the heading " No. xxiv. *The Land of the Canons of Oxford and of other Clerks*," we find—

"The Canons of S. Frideswide hold 4 hides of the King near Oxford. They held it in King Edward's time. The land five Carucates. There 18 villans have five ploughs and 105 acres of meadow, and eight acres of spinney. It was and is worth 40s. This land never paid tax nor belongs to any *hundred*.

" Saward holds of these same Canons 2 hides in Codeslaw [d] (*Cutslow*). Land for two ploughs, which are there now. It was and is worth 40s. It belonged and does belong to the Church."

Further on, under the heading " No. xxviii. *The Land of Robert de Oilgi*," there are two entries :—

"The same Robert has 42 houses (*domos hospitatas*) [e] in Oxford, as well within as without the wall. Of these 16 pay geld and gable, the rest pay neither, be- cause, *on account of poverty*, they cannot ; and he has 8 mansions waste (vastas), and 30 acres of meadow near the wall, and a mill of 10s. The whole is worth £3, and for one manor he holds (?) [f], with the benefice of S. Peter.

" The Church of S. Peter of Oxford holds of Robert 2 hides in *Holywell* (Hali- welle). Land one carucate. There is one plough and a-half, and twenty-three men having *gardens* (hortulos). There are 40 acres of meadow. It was worth 20s., it is now worth 40s. This land has not paid tax or rendered any return."

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[d] Cutslow, a little to the north of Oxford ; see note on page 23.

[e] The expression "mansiones hospitatæ," as has been shewn in a previous note (p. 53), occurs in the entry respecting Lincoln, where the term appears to include houses generally. I am not sure of the force of the word "hospitata." It does not seem to mean simply "inhabited," which is the obvious rendering, for I find the word used in respect to a meadow in a Charter *temp.* Hen. III., " Ex dono Gilberti filii Nigelli, totum *pratum tam hospitatum* quam non hospi- tatum, quod est sub habitaculo earundem monialium." (See Prior. S. Clementis juxta Eboracum, Dugdale, vol. iv. 325.) Perhaps " occupied by a tenant" would be the nearest rendering. (See Ducange, sub voce " hospes.")

I cannot, however, quite pass over without notice the false argument adopted from the incidental use of this word in the Survey of Oxford, to support the theory of the existence of a University here at this time. I quote the passage from Antony à Wood, as typical of other writers, " What those houses stiled ' domos hospitatas' should signify but *hospitia*, i.e. Inns or Receptacles for Scholars (for so *hospitia*, according to commentators, is expounded), let those that are critics judge." It is singular that Wood, before giving to the words this sense, had not observed that while Oxford only possessed 42, the city of Lin- coln possessed 912.

[f] There appears to be an omission of a word.

The question again arises, whether these 8 mansions are in addition to those already named as held by Robert D'Oili, and whether the 42 houses are to be added to the previous total. It probably is so, and that for some reason or other they were excepted from the city return. It will be observed that more than half the houses do not pay tax, and that the reason assigned agrees with what I have before said with respect to the *domi vastæ*, namely, that it was " on account of poverty."

The Churches in Oxford.

There is still one point to which I wish to draw attention before I leave the Domesday Survey, namely, the Churches mentioned.

From other authorities, we have learnt of the existence of (1) *S. Frideswide's* Church, and we find the Canons mentioned both under Oxford and amongst the county holders.

Of this church, on the site of the present cathedral, no remains are probably in existence ; all the work now to be seen being that of Prior Guimond, and the foundations, if such there be, would have to be sought within the area occupied by the choir and nave.

We have also found a notice of (2) *S. Martin's* Church, the central church of the city, situated close to where the four chief streets of the city meet. The only ancient part of the existing fabric is the tower, which appears to be of the thirteenth or four teenth century, but in all probability the *exact* site of the church was retained.

Of (3) *S. George's in the Castle*, although no longer a church, the old tower exists such as it stood at the close of the eleventh century. As already explained (see p. 41), the crypt now existing is nearly on the spot of the older crypt, and so beneath the original chancel.

We have also found mention elsewhere of (4) *S. Mary Magdalen* Church without the walls. Of this, again, the site, namely that oc cupied by the present church, is all that can be referred to, none of the walls of the present fabric being earlier than the fourteenth century.

Of these three last named we find no mention whatever in the Domesday Survey, but in their stead we find others.

First of all (5) *S. Mary's* Church, which early in the Middle Ages seems to have acquired considerable importance from its connection with the University. At this time we have only the bare mention

of it, connected with the circumstances that it belonged to Earl Alberic, and that two mansions "lay to it," i.e. in its demesne while a third mansion, hard by, belonged to Burford [g]. In mediæval times a house at the corner now occupied by All Souls College, and to the east of the church, was named, no doubt from its early history, Burford Hall.

We then have in the Survey distinctly mentioned the Priests of (6) *S. Michael* as holding two mansions.

This was, no doubt, S. Michael's at the north gate, and the church still bearing that name. It has a tower which has been assigned by antiquaries to a date anterior to the introduction of the Norman style, and *therefore* before the Conquest. It should be remembered, however, that most of our buildings in what is called the Norman style, are of Henry the First's reign, and so it may be *pre-Norman* in style, but built after the year 1066. The evidence to be derived from architectural details by themselves, whether of mouldings or masonry, will not allow of the accurate determination of the date of a building. They must be taken in connection with recorded history, or a large margin must be allowed.

As has already been shewn, there is little room to doubt that Robert D'Oili was the builder of the tower of S. George's in the Castle. Here also is a tower situated at a point in the line of the city wall, only second in importance to that of the Castle itself, with masonry very similar in general character [h]. Further, as has already

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[g] It will be observed that in the enumeration of the "king's mansions," the rents of several are especially appropriated to certain places in the neighbourhood, probably to keeping in order the king's houses, in which he could lodge when making a royal progress through his domains, e.g. at Shipton, Bloxham, Risborough, &c. The expression "jacet ad" no doubt is the same which is more fully expressed in the Middlesex Survey, where it stands in several instances "jacet in dominio ccclesi.e."

There is an implication contained in the note by Dr. Ingram in the "Memorials," that Burford Hall, i.e. in the sense of a hall for students, was in existence at the time of the Survey, but this must be taken in connection with the erroneous theory that the University was founded by King Alfred. The note runs as follows : "This last-mentioned mansion was Burford Hall, situated opposite to the east end of S. Mary's Church, *afterward* called Charlton's Inn, and inhabited by students."

[h] I am aware that there is the peculiar construction in S. Michael's tower in the use of coins arranged in the alternate manner, known by the name of "long-and-short-work," which has been pointed out by Rickman and others as

been noted, D'Oili is distinctly said to have repaired the parish churches. It seems to me, putting these circumstances together, it is hard to arrive at any other conclusion than that D'Oili built this tower, or at least that it was built during his time, that is, after the occupation of Oxford by the Normans. This by no means in volves the foundation of the church at that time ; indeed, the men tion of it so early in the list of what seems to be the original occupants of the city, whose names appeared on the older registers, and before their property was confiscated, seems to point to the existence of the church with its two priests at a date anterior to the Conquest.

Another reference to a church occurs in the Survey in this form, " The Abbot of Eynsham has one church :" this, there is no doubt, refers to (7) S. *Ebbe's*. In the foundation charter of Eynsham Abbey, professing to be that of King William, no mention of a church in Oxford is named ; but in the charter of Henry I. (A.D. 1109) con firming previous gifts, we find amongst others,—

" And in Oxeneford, the church of S. Ebba, and all things which belong to it, and two mills near Oxford, and meadows [1]."

A line should be added here, that though in the old church of S. Ebbe's, pulled down some few years ago, when the present struc ture was erected, a good deal of old work was remaining, there is no reason to suppose that any was of a date anterior to the twelfth century. The doorway, which has been preserved, belongs possibly to Stephen's reign, probably to Henry the Second's.

I have also already given an extract enumerating the possessions

a special mark of what is called " Saxon work." But all this amounts to is, that it belongs to a style preceding the ordinary Norman style of architecture, as it is called. It does not mean that necessarily a building erected in Sep tember, 1066, would be in the one style, and that in November, 1066, would be in the other. The change of styles of building was of course gradual, and, to a certain extent, a more frequent intercourse with Normandy may have accele rated the introduction of new styles of building. But all this took *time.*

[1] Wood seems to refer to a charter, a copy of which exists amongst the Christ Church records, dated 4th William II. (i.e. 1091), in which the gift is named. It is possible that it was just about the time of the Survey that the church was built and given to the abbey, and that at the time it had not been consecrated. If it is so, it seems to me to agree with other circumstances which point to the t'me of Robert D'Oili, when many of the churches were either founded or rebuilt.

of Robert D'Oili, amongst which is " one manor held with the benefice of (8) *S. Peter*," and it is added that " the church of S. Peter holds of Robert D'Oili two hides of land in Holywell."

There can be no reasonable doubt, I think, that this church next to Holywell is S. Peter's-in-the-East. On this church a word must be said, as it has been the subject of much controversy in connection with the antiquity of the University.

In the remarkable interpolation in Asser's Life of Alfred, to which reference has already been made, and which appeared for the first time in Camden's edition of 1601, S. Peter's Church is introduced ingeniously, as it appears to me, to give a kind of confirmatory evidence to the record. The passage, it must be remembered, is inserted under the year 887, and begins, " In the same year there arose a very bad and terrible discord at Oxford between Grymbald and those learned men whom he had brought with him, and the ancient scholars (*scholasticos*) whom he had found there." The contention is about the antiquity of the University, and this is made to depend upon evidence produced that the writings of Gildas, Nennius, and others were known at Oxford, and that Germanus came to Oxford. Further, it adds that King Alfred came here to sit in judgment upon the dispute, and eventually pacified the contending parties. But the passage concludes thus :—

" But Grymbold did not bear this with equanimity, and immediately departed to the monastery at Winchester, which had recently been founded by Alfred, and then caused the ' tomb' in which he had intended that his bones should be laid after he had run the course of this life to be removed to Winchester. This tomb was then in the vault, *which was built beneath the chancel of S. Peter* in Oxford ; and this church, indeed, Grymbold had built from the very foundation, of stone most carefully worked (de saxo summa cura perpolito)."

Attributing the building of S. Peter's Church to the time of Alfred (for the crypt and church are of the same age, as is shewn by the similarity of work and masonry, and the absence of any joint) is quite in accordance with the views on the architectural history of this country held at the time when, in all probability, the passage was penned, and when it was the common notion that many of the buildings which we know now to be of Henry the First's, or even as late as Henry the Second's reign, were of a date anterior to the Conquest.

The style of the workmanship is rather of the later of the two dates, though possibly it may be between the two, say of King Stephen's

time. But the *plan* of this crypt, it must be admitted, is of an earlier character, and therefore probably followed when the church was rebuilt. Excavations made under the auspices of the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society some five years ago, brought to light the circumstance, that on each side of the recess at the west end of the crypt there were passages connecting the crypt with the church by a series of steps leading up into the nave.

This arrangement, derived from the primitive plan of the "Confessio" in the churches at Rome, ceased in this country about the eleventh century, although it was continued in some parts of the continent to a later age. In this country, Ripon and Hexham present instances of ascending and descending stairs to crypts, and both these are shewn to be of a date previous to the Conquest. S. Peter's Church, therefore, while it exhibits no masonry, so far as can be observed, of a date anterior to the twelfth century, may be said without doubt to occupy the place of, and to have preserved the plan of, a type of church which may have existed long before that date. This church, of which the crypt plan is all that remains, must have been that referred to as in the possession of Robert d'Oili.

And now having come to the end of those mentioned in Domesday, we are dependent upon a later record for ascertaining the names of the remaining churches in Oxford. That record is a charter granted by Henry I. to the Priory of S. Frideswide [k]. It runs as follows :—

"Besides I have given and granted to the said Prior and Canons within the city of Oxford—

The Church of All Saints.	The Chapel of S. Michael, *ad portam Australem*.
The Church of S. Mildred.	
The Church of S. Michael, *ad portam Borealem*.	The Church of S. Edward.
The Church of S. Peter, *ad Castrum*.	The Chapel of the Holy Trinity.
The moiety of the Church of S. Aldate.	Without the city, the Chapel of S. Clement."

While the record belongs to Henry the First's reign, it will be observed there is nothing to suggest that the churches were only then founded. On the contrary, these churches appear to be all

[k] There does not seem to be, in the copies to which I have been able to refer, any evidence by which to fix an exact date, but I observe that Wood gives it as A.D. 1122, referring to the chief register of S. Frideswide.

in existence, and as far as can be judged from the general tenor, it is rather a charter of cónfirmation of gifts made long before to S. Frideswide. We may certainly conclude that these churches were in existence before the close of William the Second's reign. I suspect that nearly all were founded in William the First's reign, and were due to the example, perhaps even directly to the gifts, of Robert d'Oili.

S. Michael's Church has already been named in the Survey, but this charter shews it belonged to the Priory of S. Frideswide at that time, though in the Middle Ages that body somehow lost it. We have besides—

(9.) The Church of *All Saints*. This, as far as the building is concerned, is wholly modern (eighteenth century). It stands at the corner where the "Turl" joins the High-street, and several references to it occur throughout the Middle Ages.

(10.) *S. Mildred's* Church and parish have been now done away with. Wood, however, gives sufficient evidence to shew that what is now Brasenose-lane was on the site of the churchyard, and that the Hall of Exeter College is mainly on the site of the old church.

(11.) The Church of *S. Peter in the Castle*, or S. Peter le Bailey, as it is commonly called, is also modern, but occupies, there is no doubt, the site of the church given to S. Frideswide.

(12.) The present Church of *S. Aldate* has nothing, except a portion of an arcade built into the north aisle, earlier than the fourteenth century remaining. It will be observed that only the moiety is given. The other moiety belonged to Abingdon, and the story of their failure to obtain the whole is rather a singular one, but belongs to the next century [1].

(13.) It is difficult to ascertain the site of *S. Edward's Church*. From references collected by Wood, it appears that what is now Alfred-street (leading from the High-street into Bear-lane, and so into St. Aldate's) was called Edward-street, and that the church was on the west side [m]. Very little however is recorded of it.

We have thus come to the end of the list of churches of which

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[1] See Chron. Monast. de Abingdon, vol. ii. p. 174, &c.

[m] Taking into consideration the disposition of the buildings in this street, as shewn in Agas' map of 1578, it would appear that the probable site was on the northern side of that now occupied by Mr. Tollit's Livery Stables.

we have any record, but there are still the three chapels which are named, and which demand a word.

(1.) The *Chapel of S. Michael* at South-gate. This was probably de-stroyed when Christ Church was built by Wolsey. It is said to have adjoined the south gate (just as the other S. Michael's adjoined the North Gate), and that the south-west corner of the great quadrangle now occupies the original site [n].

In reference to S. Michael's Church and Chapel at the north and south gate respectively, as also to there being a S. Peter's Church in the eastern part of Oxford and another in the west, there is a Latin distich [o] as follows :—

> " Invigilat porta australi boreæque Michael
> Exortum solem Petrus regit atque cadentem."

> " At North-gate and at South-gate S. Michael guards the way,
> While o'er the east and o'er the west S. Peter holds his sway."

(2.) *The Chapel of the Holy Trinity*. The Confirmation Charter of Pope Adrian, quoted in the note, fixes nearly the site of this chapel, by expressly speaking of it as " Capella Sanctæ Trinitatis *super por-tam Orientalem*." As in the case of S. Michael at South-gate, it is not clear whether the chapel thus named in the Charter was over the gate or on one side of it. The statement by Wood, that it "did join to the east gate on the north side, and ruinously standing when that College proceeded forward in its building," is not borne out by any authorities quoted, or any to which I have

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[n] It will be observed that the expression used in the charter is "*ad* portam australem," but the enumeration is somewhat different in the Confirmation Charter of Pope Adrian, given also in Dugdale, ii. p. 147. It runs, "Infra ipsam civitatem *capellam* Sanctæ Trinitatis *super* portam Orientalem, *capellam* S. Michaelis *super* portam australem, *Ecclesiam* S. Michaelis *juxta* portam Aqui-lonis, *Ecclesiam* S. Petri *juxta* castrum," &c. There appears to be a marked dis-tinction in the expressions, " Ecclesiam S. Michaelis *juxta* portam," and " Capel-lam S. Michaelis *super* portam." It was by no means an uncommon practice to have a chapel over a gateway, and several examples are now remaining, e.g. at Warwick, Winchester, &c. This chapel of the Holy Trinity appears in the Mid-dle Ages, however, to have had chantries attached, and to have been reckoned as a church, e.g. in 1291 it was taxed at 4*m*. 8*d*. as " Ecclesia S. Michaelis Austr." Without further evidence, I cannot verify Wood's statement that it was destroyed to make way for Wolsey's great quadrangle.

[o] It is referred to by Wood simply as " an ancient distich." I cannot trace the origin, but I doubt if it belongs to an earlier date than the fifteenth century.

been able to refer [p].   I know of no remains which, with any proba-
bility, can be said to have belonged to the chapel [q].

(3.) The third chapel named in the Charter is that of *S. Clement.*
There is no reason to doubt that the church which was standing
some forty years ago, and the site of which is still marked by the
churchyard adjoining S. Clement's turnpike-gate, was erected on
the site of this little chapel mentioned in the Charter.   Of that
church, however, so far as I can learn, no remains existed of an
earlier date than the fourteenth century [r].

We thus have in all, besides the three chapels just mentioned,
thirteen churches, including the Priory Church, and the authorities,
whence the names are derived, together with the dates, are here
shewn in a tabular form :—

> 1. *S. Frideswide.*—In Oseney Register, William of Malmesbury, and Domes-
>   day.   Founded *c.* 8th century.
> 2. *S. Martin's.*—Abingdon Abbey Chronicle.   Mentioned 1034.
> 3. *S. George in the Castle.*—Oseney Annals, &c.   Founded *c.* 1074.
> 4. *S. Mary Magdalen.*—Oseney Register.   Given to S. George's, *c.* 1074.
> 5. *S. Mary the Virgin.*—Domesday.   Mentioned *c.* 1086.
> 6. *S. Michael.*—Domesday.   Mentioned *c.* 1086.
> 7. *S. Ebbe.*—Domesday.   Existence implied *c.* 1086.
> 8. *S. Peter* [in the East].—Domesday.   Mentioned *c.* 1086.
> 9. *All Saints.*
> 10. *S. Mildred.*   Charter to   Implied as being in
> 11. *S. Peter in the Castle.*   Priory of   existence   before
> 12. *S. Aldate.*   S. Frideswide.   close of the eleventh
> 13. *S. Edward.*   century.
> (?) *S. John.*—Not mentioned.

[p] Wood (ap. Peschall, p. 74) quotes the following charter, 6th Edw. II. A.D.
1313 : " We command you that you diligently enquire upon the oath of good men
whether it will be to the detriment of us or others, or the prejudice of our town
of Oxford, if we grant to our beloved in Christ, the Ministers and Friars of the
Order of the Holy Trinity dwelling *without* the East gate of the aforesaid town
of Oxford, that they may remove from the said place to the chapel of the Holy
Trinity *within* the said gate, which they have lately with our licence acquired,
together with certain spots of ground adjacent to the said town, and there to
build and dwell for ever."   Previous licences, I see by the list of Patent Rolls, had
been granted 21 Edw. I. and 4 Edw. II.

[q] The present Church of the Holy Trinity is a modern building in another part
of Oxford.

[r] There is a good engraving of the church as it stood before its destruction in
1829, on the Oxford Almanack for the year 1837.

The Streets, and the Parish Boundaries.

It is reasonable to suppose that before the close of the eleventh century, the city was divided into parishes. It is implied by the distinct mention of the " Parish Churches" in the Abingdon Abbey Chronicle[s], and further it may be inferred from the circumstance that the twelve churches of which we find mention as being within the walls, if taken as centres of small districts, occupy the whole of the space included within the wall with the exception of a small space at the south-eastern corner. Further consideration will confirm this view, for it will be seen by a reference to a plan of Oxford which I have appended, with the *present boundaries* of parishes marked upon it, that there is a certain system observable—partly depending on the churches, partly upon the streets, but also what appears to me to be of importance, partly upon the boundary of the city. I venture to infer from this, as we have certain knowledge of the names of the churches and of their actual sites, and a pre sumed knowledge of the general line of the city wall, that (*a*) we must fix the division of the city into parishes within the date of which I am writing; that (*b*) the subdivision was not a matter of chance, depending upon the gradual growth of the place, as new districts were added, but a systematic division of a definite space; and also that (*c*) with some exceptions the boundaries of the parishes have little changed.

It will be observed that the general plan of the city is a rough parallelogram, with the sides converging somewhat as they tend to the west, in order to meet a circular outlier occupied by the Castle. From about the centre of the space so enclosed four chief streets diverge, running almost according to the points of the compass, due N., S., E. and W. That centre still bears the name of Carfax, cor rupted from the Norman-French of *Quatre-voies*[t], i.e. where four ways meet.

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[s] See *ante*, p. 44.

[t] It might fairly be argued that the name belongs to the time of Robert d'Oili, but I have found no mention of it in any early records. There have been many theories as to the derivation of the word, but no doubt the above is correct. In Agas' map it is inscribed "Quater Voys," implying that the corruption into Carfax must have taken place during the past two or three centuries. Amongst fanciful derivations may be mentioned that of Wood, "Quatuor in *ventos* ibi se via fundit eunti." Others, he says, will have it from "Caer-bos, i.e. the caer or city of

Of the four streets, the largest and most important, stretches eastward but bends a little to the south as it approaches the site of East-gate, and seems to have been called the High-street for a very long period of time. The names of North-street and South-street appear as late as Agas, in the former the Cornmarket stands, and the latter leads to S. Aldate's Church, whence now their respective names. The Western-street seems to have been called in part " The Baillie" and in part " Castle-street," but, so far as I have observed, no documents give us the names of any of the streets so early as the eleventh century.

At one of the corners where the four principal streets so meet stands S. Martin's Church.

The parish boundary is a square described round this ; the west side runs in nearly a straight line, but the eastern side shews that irregularity which would arise either from following the walls of the tenements which were in existence when the boundaries were marked out, or from subsequent encroachments. The plan of Oxford in Agas' map, and indeed in all towns not densely populated, shews small houses adjoining the street, and slips of land running back at different lengths, and used as gardens, courts, &c. There would be, therefore, in S. Martin's parish, four small blocks of houses, with gardens running back to some distance from the street. Making a deduction for the space occupied by the church, the street frontage of this parish would have amounted to a total of about 1,000 feet. In this part the tenements were probably small, and 20 feet frontage to each, which may be as much as should be reasonably allowed, would give a total of 50 in the parish. This, I think, must be a near approximation to the average distribution of tenements throughout the city, and the total number of tenements so computed will be found to agree with the general estimate as recorded in the Survey ".

Boso, who was consul of Oxford in King Arthur's time !" The modern form, " Carfax," suggests the "*quatre faces*" rather than " quatre-*voies*," but there is no doubt as to the latter. It is exactly the *Quadrivium* of the Romans. The modern French *Carrefour* is probably *Quadrefurcus* (conf. *bi-furcus*). Various forms occur in old French, e.g. *Carroueil*, *Carouge*, *Quarroge*. See Ducange, also s. v. *Carrouellum* and *Quarrogium*, &c.

" The total street-frontage of Cornmarket is about 1,300 feet. I find, by statistics printed on a map of 1789, there were 70 houses in Cornmarket.

West of S. Martin's, we have S. Peter's parish, and the line of this requires close examination. It is extended in a northerly direction as if to take in some tenement, and then it follows, both on the north side and the south, the ground lying between the narrow lanes which now exist (the northern one being still called Bulwark's Lane) and the ditch of the Castle. In fact, the parish boundary has enabled me to determine more exactly the precise extent of the Castle-ditch. This ditch existed till nearly the end of the seventeenth century, and is shewn very fairly both on the maps of 1578 and 1673, with a number of tenements distributed on the slope which lies between it and a lane which is evidently that now existing; but the parish boundary, as carefully marked on the much larger survey of 1850, corrects the details while it confirms the general outline given in the two maps. On the north side the parish appears to have ceased where the city wall would have come in contact with the Castle-ditch, though an outlying portion exists without the wall, and only connected with it by a narrow strip. As to whether or not this was the original arrangement, or whether a block of tenements was added to the parish in later times, there is no evidence on which to rely.

On the south side, the parish boundary extends for about the same distance along the Castle *enceinte* as it appears to do on the north, and probably here, as on the north side, included tenements just without the west gate of the city [x].

North of the parish of S. Martin we have S. Michael's and S. Mildred's parishes [y]. It is to be observed, too, that these parishes include a certain space *without* the walls. It may be that the original boundary did not extend beyond the wall, but when houses were built on the slopes and over the city-ditch they were comprised within the parish. A curious extension towards S. Mary

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[x] The determination of the site of the west gate, even in mediæval times, presents some difficulties. Probably the houses were extended all along the southern side of the Castle-ditch, and the road in front of them may have been protected by a wall, though not perhaps to be considered as that of the city.

[y] I do not know the line of boundary between S. Michael's and S. Mildred's, but should imagine it passed through the block of houses, the eastern half of which is occupied by Jesus College. This would make two parishes, each of about the same size, but each somewhat larger than that of S. Martin. If S. Martin's had 50 tenements, each of them had probably 60 or 70.

Magdalen parish may be observed, which seems to point to this part of the boundary being described so as to include a few houses which probably stood by the side of the road leading from North-gate[z].

The parish of S. Ebba and S. Aldate, and the property belonging to the Priory of S. Frideswide, are not conterminous with the city wall. It has already been pointed out that S. Frideswide was probably founded long before the city grew to such importance as to require fortifying. We find that the property of S. Frideswide's extended to the river, and it is not likely that the city would have enclosed the whole of this ; but probably a part of their property, namely that in which their church and habitations were built, was already surrounded with some kind of *enceinte*, and the straight line of the city wall which we now see on the south side of Merton and Corpus Colleges was afterwards made to join with it. This is in accordance with what we find from documentary evidence in the next reign (i.e. Henry the First's), namely that the city wall ran through their property, as is shewn by a charter which appears to be of the same date as that previously cited, and from which I obtained the list of churches granted to S. Frideswide[a].

The original charter is not in existence, but it is given by an " Inspeximus" *temp.* Hen. V., and runs as follows :—

" Besides I give to them the way along the wall of the city of Oxford, as far as their land extends ; and I am willing that the aforesaid canons should enclose the said way. And I grant that the said canons may be able to close or obstruct all the gates of the whole of their priory at their pleasure, without any let or hindrance for ever."

In connection with this and confirming it, is a charter of King Stephen's reign, which points more definitely to the site of the wall, as they have permission to build upon it. This wall, there can be no doubt, is that on which the southern side of the chapter-house rests[b].

It appears that the parishes of S. Aldate and S. Ebbe extend

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[z] It will be remembered that the Domesday Survey refers to houses "tam intra murum quam extra."

[a] Both Charters are witnessed by the Chancellor, Roger, so that they may be of any date in Henry the First's reign after 1107.

[b] I do not mean to say that the masonry of the present wall is that which was standing in the time of Henry I., only that I believe it to be in the exact line, though rebuilt and repaired at successive times.

also to the river, like the property of S. Frideswide's. Here again it is not easy to decide whether the fields without the city were considered originally as within the parish, or whether the advent of the Grey Friars and Black Friars to this district was afterwards the cause of the ground being included [c].

The central parishes of All Saints and S. Edward, lying to the east of S. Martin's, have probably not changed materially, except that the latter has been absorbed partially by the former, partially by S. Aldate's, and perhaps in some parts by S. Frideswide's.

S. Mary's parish, it will be observed, occupies a long narrow space—reaching nearly to the city wall on the north, and as far to the south as the piece of ground afterwards occupied (if not then) by S. John's parish.

Of this S. John's parish, the truth is, we find no mention whatever during the eleventh or even the twelfth century, but because there is no record, it would be rash to argue that it had no existence. The first reference I have been able to find (and I am dependent on Wood [d] for it) is the statement that the Church of S. John was transferred to Walter de Merton for his newly-founded college, by Reading Abbey, to which it then belonged.

It may be noted, that the property of S. Frideswide's extended the whole length of S. John's parish, on the south side the city wall only dividing the two.

The parish of S. Peter remains to be spoken of, to complete the survey of the whole of the space within the walls. This parish has for its northern boundary exactly the outer edge of the city ditch. The ditch here remains occupied by gardens, and there is a sloping piece of ground between it and the city wall. Against this wall there may

[c] In a Charter of Henry the Third's reign (1244) the Grey Friars had permission to enclose the street that lay along the city wall, much in the same manner as S. Frideswide had before them ; and they had further permission to pull down a portion of the wall, on condition that they fortified their own property down to the river. The new wall of *enceinte* could hardly then have been but just completed, if completed at all. At all events, it seems to me to imply that the former line of defence was exactly followed by the newer one, and that therefore, if the parishes extended originally to the river, they must have included ground without the city wall as well as within it.

[d] I can find no details of the transfer, which throws any light upon the history of the church, either in the copies of the Merton rolls, to which I have access, or in those of Reading Abbey.

have been originally tenements, and if so, they would have been included[e]. The boundary of the parish on the eastern side is very irregular, and I have little doubt but that here subsequent additions were made to the parish, very possibly being caused by the settlement of the Friars of the Holy Trinity, whose district, although outside the wall, was connected with S. Peter's. I have no direct evidence of this, but some circumstances suggest it.

There is one point to be observed in the general system of the demarcation of the parishes, especially as regards those which are more central. Instead of the streets forming the boundaries, the line passes through the middle of the blocks of houses formed by the streets. This may be seen most clearly in the case of S. Martin's parish, but the same principle is more or less to be observed in all the rest.

Of one church, and so probably of one parish, outside the walls, we have distinct mention, namely, S. Mary Magdalene. We have Holywell also mentioned as being partly owned by Robert D'Oili, but no church is named; indeed as some of the land belonged to S. Peter's, the inference would rather be that Holywell was not then a separate parish, and the church not then built.

The Castle had its own church and priests, namely, the church and the college of S. George, and it was bounded by the Castle-ditch, for the course of which I have found sufficient evidence to be enabled to mark it with tolerable accuracy on the map.

Before I quit this part of the subject, I may add that it is singular how few ancient names of streets have come down to us. Their courses seem to have been tolerably constant, but their names frequently changed. One exception I think must be made in the case of the name "*Turl.*" There is little doubt as to its meaning and origin, namely, the Anglo-Saxon "þýrl"[f] = an aperture ; and so

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[e] This slope, or "Slype" as it is called, may have been occasioned by the older ditch having been retained, and contrary to the plan adopted along the western part of the northern *enceinte*, the new wall in the time of Henry III. may have been erected on the inside of the vallum, and hence the original site of the vallum, with the ditch on the outer side, left intact.

[f] The usual form appears to be þýrel, and as an adjective it means literally "pierced through." In our own language we have "drill" and "thrill," and we have also "tril" in the one compound "nose-tril." In Oxford topography also the word again exists in the "Trill Mill-stream."

either from the " opening" or gate [g], or from the narrow street " passing through" it received its name. From this it may be, perhaps, too much to argue that we have for certain a remnant of at least one Saxon street with its original name, but it certainly is very possible that it is so.

I said the course of the streets was mostly the same, though their names had changed. The course of one, however, has been considerably interfered with, namely, that which went round the inside of the wall of the city, and which was necessary not only for the general convenience of connecting the several gates together, but especially for use during military operations.

We have already seen that in Henry the First's reign the Prior of S. Frideswide was allowed to obstruct it, and in Stephen's reign he and the canons were allowed even to build upon it. In Henry the Third's reign, we find the Grey Friars also permitted to enclose the way within the bounds of their monastery, on the plea that the traffic along it interfered with their study or devotions. And so this enclosure has gone on.

If we attempt to tiace this street we shall find how little remains. Beginning at North-gate, Ship-street no doubt follows the general course, but probably this street has been pushed further south when buildings were erected against the inner side of the north wall. In Agas' map it appears as " Sommers lane," and with no houses on the north side. On crossing Turl-street, it passed close under the wall between that and Exeter College Chapel. Some few years ago, there was a doorway from the street into the passage, but now the remains of Prideaux's Buildings (originally fronting Broad-street) have been re-erected by Exeter College across it at this end. This college, with the quadrangle between the Schools and the Clarendon, have obliterated it till we come to the commencement of New College-lane. There the line is continued for a short distance, but soon New College cloisters, chapel, and gardens cover the site [h], and we lose all trace of it till we get to the High-street. After this point King-street follows it for a short distance, and then Merton,

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[g] The Turl-gate is often referred to in medieval documents. I have also a sixteenth-century token with the inscription on it, "at the Turl-gate."

[h] We have full details of the right which William of Wykeham obtained to enclose " Quendam venellam," &c. which ran beneath the wall.

Corpus, and Christ Church have obliterated it till we come to S. Aldate's. The street between S. Aldate's Church and Pembroke College possibly represents it in this part, but it probably ran closer to the wall, the building of the college having involved the alteration of the course ; then, after passing by Littlegate, along the ancient site of the Grey Friars, it eventually reached the Castle, but here modern buildings have totally obliterated its course. *Castle-street* and " *Bulwark's-lane*" still exist, skirting the eastern bank of the Castle-ditch ; but from the junction of the latter with the northern wall till we find the old line continued in New-Inn-Hall-street, it has been enclosed amongst the city property in this part. New-Inn-Hall-street, like Ship-street, (which is a continuation of it,) has probably slightly shifted its position southwards, as tenements have been erected on the inside of the wall.

A few of the cross-streets leading from the High-street both northwards and southwards must follow original courses. One passed, no doubt, from the site of Smith-gate to the High-street at the east end of S. Mary's Church, and another was continued southwards from opposite the west end of the same church to the city wall [1].

I should have been glad to have been able to draw upon the map the probable distribution of the streets at the close of the eleventh century, but I found that so great a proportion would be purely conjectural, that I have thought it better to insert only the modern streets, with the explanation that for the most part there have been probably no serious changes beyond such as I have pointed out.

The Bridges and Mills in Oxford.

The description which I have attempted to give of Oxford at the close of the eleventh century would ·not be complete if I omitted to refer to the notices we have extant of the bridges and mills.

In the extracts already given, it will be seen that they have been more than once incidentally mentioned. D'Oili, we find, built the North Bridge, i.e. that over the Isis, leading to the road which passed along the northern side of Oxford, and that bridge is called now Hythe or High Bridge [k].

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[1] In old records it is called in the south part Skydiard-street, the lower portion being now occupied by Corpus College.   [k] See p. 44.

We have no mention of bridges into the Castle, but probably there was one, as there is now by the side of the mill. It may have been of wood, and easily destroyed in time of danger ; but I think there must have been an entrance direct from the country into the castle, without the necessity of passing through the city.

The chief entrance to the Castle during the Middle Ages was, no doubt, on the city side : whether it was so at the first is an open question. On the old maps, the entrance, with its bridge, is clearly shewn, indeed a wooden bridge is marked as in existence so late as on Loggan's plan, and the exact spot can be easily identified in the line of the Castle *enceinte*.

Of a bridge over the Cherwell at the east end of Oxford I can find no early mention.

On the southern side of the city, over the Isis, and where Folly Bridge is now situated, a bridge seems to have existed as early as the eleventh century. The evidence is somewhat indirect, and we are dependent wholly for it on one or two passages in the Abingdon Abbey Chronicle. A kind of farm, called a "Wick," is granted to Abingdon Abbey early in Henry the First's reign, and it is described as being near to the "Pons Oxenford[1]." The Wick appears to have belonged for some time to Ermenold, a citizen of Oxford, who also gave a house[m] to Abingdon Abbey[n].

It will be seen that in the first paragraph of the Domesday Survey, Earl Algar held a mill in Oxford. All things considered, I suspect this must have been the Castle Mill. It was no doubt retained and rebuilt, connecting it with the tower and church which D'Oili built.

Robert D'Oili, however, we see by the additional extract from the Survey, also held a mill of his own, which appears to me to be distinct from the Castle Mill. It is not definitely stated where the mill was, but from the context, and the mention of S. Peter's and Holy-well, I think we may infer that Holywell Mill still occupies the site.

It will also be seen by the extract from the Charter confirming the gift of S. Ebbe's Church on Eynsham Abbey, that two mills near

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[1] Abingdon Abbey Chronicle, vol. ii. pp. 140, 176.

[m] Ibid., vol. ii. p. 196.

[n] There is some difficulty in explaining the mention of the mill of "*Langeford*," "apud pontem Oxeneford positum," which is referred to, as belonging to Bay-worth. See Abingdon Abbey Chronicle, vol. ii. pp. 122, 123 ; and incidentally, pp. 288, 300, 326.

Oxford, with meadows, had been granted at the same time as the church °. No traces of these mills, so far as I know, exist ; but the arrangement of the streams just above Folly Bridge, and adjoining to S. Ebbe's parish, certainly points to the existence of one, if not of two mills in this direction.

The Map of Oxford.

In attempting to illustrate the probable remains of the eleventh century on a map, I have mainly kept in view the identification of the sites named or referred to : I have therefore drawn Oxford as it is in *brown* lines. At the same time, I have brought out rather more clearly than is shewn in ordinary maps the line of the medieval city wall. There is no doubt of its exact course throughout.

On the map I have first of all added in *black* all the churches and chapels mentioned. I have also marked the Castle mound, and one or two other points. The black shading, which is supposed to repre- sent the original ditch, must be taken only as approximately accurate, and as giving rather a general idea of the *enceinte* of the town, than a representation of actual remains. Along the north and eastern side I have little doubt the medieval ditch followed very nearly the line of the old one. On the south side, I confess I doubt if there was ever much of a ditch,—indeed there may have been none at all, and the stream may have been considered a sufficient defence.

I have coloured the streams *blue*, and it will be observed that there is a small one on the north side of the Broad Walk : it is shewn in all old maps. This stream, I believe, was once of much greater im- portance. It provided a communication from the Cherwell with the Trill ᴾ Mill-stream,—a little to the east of where it passes beneath S. Aldate's-street, and it was found to have existed beneath the site of the new buildings at Christ Church when they were digging the foundation. It passed along this north side of the Broad Walk, and joined the Cherwell just at its bend.

The *light blue dotted line* represents the modern parish boundaries, and is intended to illustrate what has been said on p. 66. The square form of the central parish is very apparent, others more or less retain the form of a square or a parallelogram. As already

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° See *ante* p. 60.

ᴾ On the origin of the word " *Trill* " Mill stream, from the circumstance of it being a stream pierced or cut through, see p. 71.

said, the parishes of S. Peter, S. Ebbe, and S. Aldate, seem to have been somewhat extended in later times.

The object of the map being to illustrate especially the remarks in the lecture, it is of course imperfect in many details which a full historical map of Oxford should give ; but as far as details are given, I think they may be relied on, as I have inserted nothing for which the authority has not been given already in these pages ; and the lines of streets, &c., have been taken from recent surveys.

Recapitulation.

In collecting from the several sources the evidence on which the history of Oxford for the tenth and eleventh centuries rests, I have aimed both at giving the evidence in the exact words of each wit-ness, and supplying the means for determining its value. That I have succeeded in collecting together *the whole* of the evidence still in existence may be too much to say, but whatever could be done by a careful and extensive examination of all portions of the early historians and other early records likely to relate directly or indi-rectly to Oxford, that I have spared no pains to do, in order to give the evidence complete, and without reference to any theories whatever. By the remarks which I have made upon the evidence so collected, sometimes by way of note, sometimes in the text itself, and in some cases, perhaps, more fully than might be considered needful, it will be seen at once on what principles I have excluded much which in popular histories of Oxford is allowed to retain a place.

The traditional evidence derived from the legend respecting S. Frideswide, of the foundation of her religious community somewhere about the eighth century, I have inserted under the first year in which we find mention of it by a credible historian ; but I have had to distinguish it from the history proper, which begins with the year 912. That the legendary biography of the saint contains an element of historical truth cannot reasonably be doubted, although the exact amount of value to be set upon each of the separate parts may be fairly debated.

With respect to the first historical fact, namely, that recorded under the year 912, the case is different, and we may accept it en-tirely. It is the same, also, with those events which follow, and which are chronicled in the same series of records, which we know

by the name of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Where imperfectly related, or where other historians narrate differently, or where the circumstances involve an *à priori* objection, I have fully explained the nature of the evidence both for and against the fact recorded.

The following is a summary of the historical events included in the first part of the lecture, and the pages are here appended for the sake of affording ready reference :—

When we come to the important record, the Domesday Survey, I have attempted to draw from it, by careful analysis, all that appears to throw light upon the extent and population of Oxford at the time.

The following are the subjects treated of in the descriptive portion of the lecture, and for the sake of reference I again append the pages :—

The result is, that Oxford seems to have grown up round the one

religious house in the eighth century, and assumed an historical im portance early in the tenth, while during the eleventh, from its situa tion, it seems to have become the centre of the political life of the country.

Immediately after the Conquest, as far as we can gather, partly from the negative evidence of no event of importance being con nected with the city, partly from the sad state of decay which the Domesday Survey pictures to us, the city appears to have declined. But in time, owing to the munificence of Robert D'Oili, (or as some might interpret it, to his shrewd policy,) there seems to have been a revival, at least, of her prosperity, that is, if we may judge from the incidental records of the erection of additional churches and of other buildings. To form, however, a fair estimate of the effect of his rule as governor of the city, we should turn to the following reign, when Oxford received further benefit from other foundations by the munificence of his successors. From whatever cause, the town appears during the twelfth century to have recovered itself, and onwards from that time to have advanced till circumstances— beside my purpose now to enter upon—brought about the growth of a University, which made the name of Oxford to be honoured in all civilized countries of the world.

MAP.

Black colour—Eleventh Century work.
Brown colour—Medieval and Modern buildings.
Blue colour—Streams.
Blue dotted lines—Modern division of parishes.

PLAN of OXFORD,
to Illustrate Eleventh Century.

Scale of Chains

S. CLEMENT'S

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